A MORAL METHODE of ciuile Policie.

CONTAYNINGE A learned and fruictful discourse of the institution, state and gouernment of a common Weale. Abridged oute of *the Cõmentaries of the Reuerende* and famous clerke, Franciscus Patricius, Byshop of Caieta in Italye.

Done out of Latine into Englishe, *by Rycharde Robinson, Citizen of London.*

Seene and allowed &c.

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Cum Priuilegio.

TO THE RIGHT WORshipfull and his singuler good maister Sir VVilliam Allen Knight, Aldermã of the City of London: Rychard Robinson his humble seruant & faithfull Oratour, wisheth long lyfe, prosperous health, encrease of worship, and perpetuall felicitie.

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SALOMON that pereles prince of prudẽce (right Worshyppfull) amonge his pithye Parables perswading to the searchig forth of wisdom & her fruits, sayeth: The path of the Righteous shineth as the light, that is euer brighter & brighter, vnto the perfect daye: But the waye of the vngodlye is as the darckenesse, they knowe not where they fall. Doubtlesse as euery Age hath eyther had his integritie or imperfection, wherein aswel the felicitie, as indempnitie of humane estate hath appeared, more or lesse, to be praysed for the worthynesse, or pitied for the wretchednesse: So is it a true testimonye of the inestimable loue of God lent towardes those which beinge duely directed in the path of perfection doe nothinge digresse there from, but persist constant vnto the ende, rather encreasinge then empairing their felicitie: And on the other part, where suche as eyther reiecte their calling, or withstande the wisedome of God, doe walcke in byways, and wander in wilful darckenesse. Who hath not seene that the indignation of God hath bene euidentlye poured vppon them, scattringe them, & ouerthrowing theym euen in their own wickednes? the profe whereof approcheth euen vntill these present dayes, in suche sorte among Christians, that if Heraclitus the heathen philosopher were now agayne liuing, and should but once step out at his dores, to view the state and condicion of the tyme present (wheras in his dayes he wept but hy fittes, to see the infelicitie of that age) I verely suppose he would now continually

shede teares abundantly without stinting, to see the ruinous decay of Christianitie in this later age: and I doubt also, if Democritus were again liuing, & did behold the doinges of bothe sortes of people in the world, whether he wold laughe for ioye in contemplating of the prosperous estate of the best christiãs, or deride the froward fortune of the most wicked & vngodly at this day. Albeit throughout Christendom now, what kingdome, coũtrie or cõmon weale appeareth altogether so peaceable and prosperous, which hath not bene lately, or is not presently encõbred with obscuritie and absurditie of lyfe, & maners? as some walking in the righteous path, haue their lighte emblemished by others of the house of Iniquitie: some faine would walke the true path, and with ciuil dissention are seperated frõ their godly purposes. But the greater part no doubt, refusing light for darknesse, do so nuzzle thẽselues in wickednesse, that they laboure with malignitie, to worcke a confused Chaos of christianitie in general. In the midst of whom, behold (right Worshipful) greately to thadmiration of the rest, about vs, but more to our priuate consolacion, and most of all to the glory of thimmortal God, the vnspeakeable loue and eternall good grace of his blessing, appeareth in most bright beames of his blissful bountie, ouershadowing this our natiue countrie of England, with far more superabundant felicities, then many other naciõs: namely by so lõg, peaceable & prosperous course of Christes Gospell, that infallible lampe of light, directed and protected by so pereles & precious a prĩcesse, so godly & gratious a gouerneresse, our most christian & dearest soueraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth, assisted with so many christal starres of stately light vnder her, garnishing and sauegarding the good gouernment of this her maiesties Realme & dominions of the same, with most holsome, godly, & politique lawes, and constitutiõs, for the cõtinual cõseruatiõ of the publique weale therof vniuersally, free frõ all priuate preiudice and publique perturbation. This then so surpassing felicitie dulye considered, what subiect is not throughly enforced, freely to vtter & expresse the receiued cõfort which he feeleth inwardly & seeth so appa-

so apparauntly? Verely when I the meanest member of thousandes, reuolue this benefite in my mynde, and see how far beyond the expectation and desertes of man, the prouidence of God dealeth with vs, thus stil preseruing vs, & sufferig others to quayle in their froward fortunes & calamities: beinge inwardly lightened with a certayn secret consolation in the one respect, & outwardly with painful pen pitying & deploring the state of the other: As duty chiefly byndeth me, I haue at this preset enforced my studye (thoughe as a Pigmeian *in simple power) to practise somewhat with* Hercules, *or as otherwise desirous to trauel with* Vlisses, *to win (albeit with wearines) somwhat if it were possible by any good meanes, to benefit this bulwarke of beatitude (this my natiue coūtry I mean) which with such multitude of worthy practisioners notwithstanding, is alreadye made famous, yet ceassed I not with* Sysiphus *to roule the stone, but in such penury of power as,* Architas *the Philosopher attributinge to be the appropriate discommoditie to dexteritie of witte, which I denie to be remaynīg in me, I haue hazarded my pore hap in such simple hādiworke (as I could, though not so wel as I would) in translating out of Latine into English, nine Bookes of the Godly, reuerend and learned* FRANCIS PATRICIVS *Bishoppe of* Caieta *in Italie: whose workes in the worthines thereof reuiuinge the auctthor, deade three score yeares agoe and vpwardes, were in the Latine tongue by him left & intituled by the name of Commentaries of the institution, state, and gouernmēt of a commō Weale. Whiche albeit it conteine prophane principles of olde time, enterlaced with the actions, opinions, exāples, Counsels, Sentences, and Sayinges of Heathen Emperours, Kinges, Princes, Captaynes, Oratours, Philosophers, and suche lyke, for the direction of Mundane matters, in Ciuyll gouernmente, with the Learned opinion of the Auctthour discoursinge vppon euerye particularitye: Yet therein is Copie of matter worthye Memorye and Imitation for euery estate and member of a good christian cōmon weale at this daye. And because it briefly so toucheth good order, in mayntenaunce of a Monarchye, and the gouernment thereof:*

I haue

I haue entituled it, A Morall Methode of ciuile Pollicie, *prefixing the particuler contentes before euerye booke, wyth annotatiõs in the Margine, reducinge the same into one Table Alphabeticall, for the more direct assertion of the particularities in euery seuerall booke. But this hy my raſhe attẽpte at the firſt ſo boldely begon, in continuaunce ſo bluntlye done and finiſhed, neyther beautified nor burniſhed with anye buxomnes of apt & eloquent Engliſh phraſe: fearing much mine owne imperfection therein, I laboured not onelye, to haue the ſame ſurueighed, but alſo ſupplied, with more learned ſkille and auctthority, before I would hazard the publiſhing therof. Whiche when I had obtayned, euen then bethinkinge mee on whõ I might beſt beſtow the beneſite of this my ſimple trauel: beyonde the deſertes of all others, conſideringe with my ſelfe the manifeſte beneſites whiche I haue receyued from tyme to tyme theſe twelue yeares at your worſhippes bountiful hands: I deemed my ſelfe a debter euen in dutie to dedicate the ſame vnto you, as a teſtimonie of my thanckefull, ſeruiſable, & well wiſhinge hart towardes you, as a pledge of the faythefull zeale that I beare to this famous Cittye of London, whereof you are an auncient Magiſtrate, and I your poore ſeruaunt a ſimple member of the ſame: and conſequentlye, as an earneſte token of my vnfayned good will and true meaninge towardes this my natiue country. Beſeeching your Worſhippe, and all other well meanng Magiſtrates to pardon my bolde rudeneſſe herein, and to accepte well in woorth my poore good will, and well meaning minde, as wiſhing vnto you eſpeciallye that this my ſimple Myte, were in value more worth thẽ* Midas *his golden Diademe, to bee throwen into the treaſurye of your worthy deſerts: and as if this my pore preſent, were more in price, then a purchaſed prize of precious Smaragdes from India (had they ſo luckely light in my lot) I could willingly at this preſent vouchesafe to thenriching of this my natiue coũtrye: yet neuertheles (ſuch as it is) pretending ſimp'ly & ſyncerelye, wiſhinge herein to profite, & pleaſure all men, & not*

to disprofite nor displease anye, I yelde the same to bee shielded vnder Gods good pleasure and youre worthie patronage. Cõcluding with dutiful and hartie praier vnto the almighty, for the long and prosperous preseruation of our most gracious soueraigne Lady the Queenes maiestie, and her honourable Counsellours: for the florishinge estate of this oure Publique weale in euery degree, where, including the welfare and felicitye of this honourable Cittie: by duetifull remembraunce I praye especially amongest all others, that your Worshippe, my good Lady & Mistres, your louing wife, and al your Childrē, may enioye longe and happie dayes on earth, and in fine, the most assured habitacle of perdurable felicities. Amen.

Your worshippes most humble seruãt and faythfull Oratour.

Rychard de Robinson.

Thomas Newtonus.

Quantas Patritio debet Reſpublica grates,
Cui ſuus hoc ſtudio vindice conſtat honos,
Aureus hic monſtrat (vel me reticente) libellus,
Ingenio, genio, diuite et arte ſcatens.
Hinc morum ſpecies, hinc dogmata pura petuntur,
Hinc vitæ elicitur ciuica norma piæ.
Hiſtoriæ quicquid Latiæ, memorántue Pelaſgæ
Vtile, Patritius ſedulus expoſuit.
Dia celebratur dignis Concordia phthongis,
Diſſidij hicq́; lues pingitur atra trucis.
Hic bene perſpicimus veſtigia trita Sophorum,
Quamq; malè a priſcis degeneramus auis.
Qui præſunt ſummæ rerum, et moderantur habenas,
Ex iſto exugent cõmoda magna libro.
Primates Regni, Symmiſtæ, bella gerentes,
Artificeſq; etiam hic quo doceantur, habent.
Deniq; Rex et Grex, populus, promiſcua plebſq;
Permagnum hinc poſſunt conciliare decus.
I fœlix Liber, i, dextra contexte Minerua,
Digne teri à cunctis clima per omne viris.

Thomas Newton, Ceſtreſhyrius.

Certaine notes selected oute of the Preface of Franciscus Patritius Senensis, *Byshop of* Caieta, *into his Boke of the Institution, State and Gouernment of a Commonweale.*

The pleasauntnes of the Soyle wherein the City Caieta stãdeth, the meruellous fruictfulnes of that countrye, and the wonderful holsemnes of the ayre, fostereth and nourisheth men long and many yeares in health: Wherfore the wordes of Scipio Affrican' are the lesse to bee merueyled at, in sayinge, that he became yonge & waxed (as it were) a chylde againe, when he together with his frend Lælius gathered & picked vp little round smoth stones at Caieta.

Nothing better sheweth what a man is, then his speache: for it openeth the sence or meaning of his mynde, and expresseth the deuises of the same, which both is deuine, & is also cõfessed & knowen to be the best & chiefest parte of man. Hereunto tendeth ỹ wyse saying of Socrates, whẽ as he sayd these wordes vnto a youngman that helde his peace: speake (sayde hee) that I may see what thou art. Meaning hereby that a man is not to be considered and deemed by the outwarde lineamentes and feacture of his bodye and face, but by the inwarde disposition and qualitie of his mynde.

As it is gladsome & acceptable for wayfaringe men to treade in their steppes which haue walked well afore therm: so is it vnto a good gouernour to direct his course that way, whereby many afore haue easely arriued to the hauen of their desires.

We see al ỹ best writers in euery excellẽt Art haue beue as it were spighted, il reported & torne in pieces by backebiters: And namely Homer who notwithstãding he was ỹ father of al Poets & the grand capitayn of all disciplines, yet had he many enemies, and spightful carpers, especially one Zoylus of Macedonia, who presuming to prefer his owne rustie wyt before the golden bayne of that deuine Poete, saucelye inueighed by wryting against the Iliades & Odisseas, of the same Homer: affecting thereby the syrname to be teatmed Homeromastix, Homers whippe.

It is the custome of all writers almost, to enterlace other mens doings into their own: both because they may wryte thinges more

certaine, and also because their writinges should be ye more acceptable and pleasant vnto the Reader. And as Flauius Albinus sayth, this is one kinde of fruit gotten by reading, that a man may imitate that which he lyketh and alloweth in others: and such speciall poyntes and sayinges, as hee is especially delighted & in loue withall, by apt and fitte deriuation maye wrest to serue his owne turne and purpose.

Afranius also an excellent wryter of Comedies, in the aunswere that he made to them which layde to his charge that hee had taken many thinges out of Menander: I confesse (sayth hee) I haue not onely receyued and taken out of him, but also out of euery other, as they seemed to haue any thinge that made for my purpose: Yea out of Latine also haue I excerpted & gathered whatsoeuer I thought my selfe coulde not do better. Quintilian geeueth vs in precept, (which Macrobius also aduoucheth & laboureth to perswade), that we should imitate ye little Bees, which do wāder & fly abroad to seke their hony out of many flowers, & then dispose they in order, whatsoeuer they bring home and couche the same in their Combes and hyues, and conuert the diuers iuyce therof, with the breath of their mouthes, vnto a most surpassinge sweete honie, the pleasant relishe whereof surmounteth all other. Neyther may this seeme newe or straunge, when we see ye al Authours both Greeke and Latine, doe vsually enterlarde their owne workes, wyth other mens doinges. For from Homer not onely all Poetes, haue recourse euen as all Riuers from the Ocean sea, but also the wryters of all other matters: for wee see that Strabo of Crete is altogether Homerical: and Cicero also, who for a great part deriueth and fetcheth his matter from Plato and Demosthenes, & translated into the Latine phrase the vertues of all the Grekes ye he lyked. And so did Quintiliā issue frō Cicero, and all that haue since his days studied eloquence and purity of the Latine tongue. Virgil also was not ashamed to translate into his workes, thousands of Homers verses, and liuely to imitate his affectiōs. So also borowed he many thinges out of Hesiodus Apollonius & Theocritus. He tooke also much out of Latine writers, and when hee misliked and disallowed of some, & was asked why he read them and noted any thing out of theym, hee aunswered, That he gathered Precious stones out of the myre.

Notwithstanding I thincke it the parte of a thanckfull mynde, franckly to professe their names whom wee do imitate, and of whō we haue borowed any thing: for as Plini sayth, it is an honest thākfulnes to confesse by whom a man hath profited, and thys recompence

pence (as it were an hyre) is payable vnto the Auctheur by good right: least otherwise we should seeme to be vniuste or deceiptfull in our dealinges. Which thing also Thales Milesius hath taughte vs, for when as hee beinge very olde, had deuised a wonderfull reason concerning the Sunne, and had taught the same vnto Mandritus a Philosopher of Cyrene, the sayd Mandritus being greatly delighted with the noueltie and straungenes of thinuencion (after greate thanckes first geuen to Thales therfore) willed him to choose what rewarde, he would haue in recompence of that so worthye a lesson: I shall thincke my selfe well and sufficiently recompensed (sayth he to Mādritus) if whēsoeuer thou vttereſt this knowledge that thou hast learned at my handes, thou do not arrogate & chalenge the inuention thereof to thy selfe, but declare and repoꝛte me to be the inuentour and deuiser thereof, rather then any other man.

the Auctors Preface.

A MORAL METHODE of ciuill Pollicye.

Whereof this fyrste Booke entreateth: Of the *Royall and prayseworthie gouernmente of one sole Prynce. Of* **originall conseruation of Humane societie. Of** *prescribing politicke lawes and ordynaunces. Of maintayning husbandry, trades of marchandize, and handycraftesmen.*

IT hath bene a very olde and published argument disputed vpon amongest excellente writers in Philosophie: whether it were better to liue wel, and safelye to bee gouerned by a good Prince, and to obey him rulinge in Iustice and equitie, or elles to liue in a free cittie and Communaltye established by good lawes & traditions. For vnto some it seemeth more meete to obeye one man rulinge iustly, & lawfully, then many & almost infinite persons, & (as for the most parte it falleth out) vnskilful in handling affaires, and matters of gouernmente. For it chaunceth I know not how, ỳ those seuerall persons, whō as it were workmē or porters we haue had in contēpt, being lincked or knit together in vnitie of mynd, the same afterwardes hardly can we in assemblies reuerence. For they confirme this Sentence by the testimony of *Homer*, who (in his second *Rhapsodie*) saith.

A matter cannot well handled bee,
Where as commaunders are manye.

MOreouer vnto this hapneth the imitacion of nature, for as wee see and beholde one God the creator and fashioner of all thinges, by whose rule and commaundement all thinges are gouerned: So seemeth it meete and conuenient vnto vs al, to encline vnto and regard the cōmaundemente of one most excellent Prince, and to obaye

Imitacion of Nature vnto Obedience of one Superiour.

the same. We see the Sunne in his nature, is as it were the onely Lorde of the day, and the Moone to be the Ladye of the nighte, whome wee beholde to rule and raigne in the skies amōg the planets & starres, & the greater that their light is, the darcker do they make the lesser Starres.

But that we may descend vnto lesse matters, are there not some brute beastes which lyue subiectes to the rule of some one kinge, they disdayne not their obedience nor to do their duties and commaundemente enioyned them, and fighte as it were vnder a Generall. Who doubtethe that the Bees haue their Kinge whych Gouerneth his people, and bringeth the other Bees to doe their duty and to gather honye. For there can be nothinge more sweeter or better to bee wyshed vnto mortall men, then to leade a priuate lyfe vnder a good kinge or prince without iniurie or ambicion of the people. But because nature hath so ordayned, that Princes are not immortall or immutable persons, but some beinge brought vp verye delicately, geuing eare to flattering parasites do for the most parte proue worse and worse in their gouerning: Therefore I iudge, that the lyfe of a Ciuill and well instituted common weale is to be thought far more safer, then of euerye Prince, for that is a continuall and almoste an immortall state of lyfe. But this is finished in a small course by olde age and death.

Verye seldome it hath hapned that a Prince gouerned and ruled still his common weale, in that minde as he did when he began first to take the gouernment in hande. For of so greate and almoste infinite multitude of *Cæsars*, whiche were all made worse by their continuall raignes, onlye *Vespasianus* of al the Princes that were there before his tyme, was chaunged better and better, as *Cornelius Tacitus* maketh mētion. For their beginnings were easie and gentle vntill suche time as they had gott vnto theymselues the loue of their people, but when they had obteined their purpose, they made hauocke of all thynges by

Hee meaneth of such as are careles for the cōmon wealc.

their

their crueltie and lust. No feare of god, no religion could restrayn thē, neyther ceased they to rage vntill they were subdued and subuerted, yea euen by their owne subiectes.

Thales Milesius who was called the chiefeste of all the Sages, being asked of a certayne familier freende of hys what thinge he had seene to bee moste difficult or harde in his lyfe tyme: Sayth he, a Tyrannt, an olde man. And in good fayth, not without a cause did hee saye so, for there is no rule or gouernmente exercised more harde then vppon men, as *Xenophon* maketh mention.

VVhat thinge most difficulte in the life of man.

Undoubtedlye there is no brute beast so seditious or rebelling against his keeper or feeder, that he will not obay him, or refuse to yelde his cōmoditie vnto him. But (alas) mā is grudging alwaies at thē which seeke to haue domination ouer him, deuiseth deceiptes and inuenteth newe matters or causes of disobedience. One Prince whyche embraceth all vertues (or hath all good qualities in hym) is not at all to be founde lyuinge vppon the earth. Some one is commended for his Justice, some other for his fortitude, or magnanimitie, some other for his liberality or gentlenes of nature: but when there are manye in a common weale, euerye one of theim hath some parte of vertue and wisedome. Wherfore the Citizens beinge gathered together into one societye doe make as it were one man, whiche with diuersitie of wytte and memorie doth excell, with many eyes seeth, with manye handes worcheth, and with almoste infinite feete endeoureth himselfe in his affayres. *Xenophon* when hee wolde prayse the ciuill societie of the *Persians*, affirmed that euen their children amonge theym did so learne iustice, that they both attayned vnto good letters & also vnto the studies of good artes and sciences.

The prayse of a Prynce.

Society of Citizens.

It seemeth vnto *Plato* a harde thing to be done, to perswade those Cittizens to Justice, whiche were not from their tender infancie, as it were trayned vp in the same. And vndoubtedlye if the iuste and perfect volumes of the

lawyers were extant and abroade to bee hadde, and that they were not so broken and mangled as they bee, they woulde geeue vs moste cleare and ample lighte not onlye how to kepe and preserue this ciuill societie, but also they woulde teache vs morall wisedome, and howe to attayne vnto the vse of the greatest affayres in a common weale.

Societie humane profitable by procreation.

Man is a Creature farre more fellowlye and sociable, then Bees, Antes, or Cranes, and such kinde of creatures whiche are fostered and nourished by flockes and doe defend theym selues by troupes and companies. The firste societie is of the Male and Female for procreacion sake: which cannot be, except they bee both together: and scarce is the one withdrawen from the other except by the ordinaunce of nature: for the pledges of the younglinges doe so greatlye cause mutuall Loue, that they are carefull to lyue together, and are affectioned towardes their fruict, as they be vnto themselues. For it happeth not vnto man and woman as it doth almoste vnto all other liuinge creatures, amongeste whom the female sexe do take on theym the charge to feede and foster their younge children, and for a small tyme it is that they stande in neede of the mothers helpe. For we see that birds do bring vp their ponge ones so longe as they bee vnfeathered, and not able to flye: But so sone as they perceue them able to vse their wings, straightwayes they bringe them forth of their nestes and goe before their younge ones, which flicker rounde about theym, vntill such tyme as with a stronger endeuour they be better able to shift for them selues, which when the old ones do see, they geeue those their pong ones libertie, at theyr aduenture to haunt the free scope of the ayre, neyther haue they afterwardes anye further care ouer theym, or at any tyme thẽcefoorth do acknowledge them as their own, but doe take their flight to seeke after the male birde, and geue their endeuour vnto a newe encrease or breede.

Example of societie in birds.

But man when he seeth his children borne and comen into this worlde, is affected towardes theym with suche

loue

loue that hee studieth or careth for nothinge more then to get lyuinge for them and suche large patrimonie & Inheritance, that for euer there be no lacke of any thing to thē and their posterities. Of this did proceede and rise the pitifulnes & crutefulnes of Cities inhabited, because when man and wife had edified for them selues a dwelling house and replenished the same with encrease of childzen and nephewes, they were dzyuen to make other houses, because one house coulde not holde one lynage or offspringe: and so they began to erect villages in the countrie and to establishe societie by meanes of many houses. Humaine care for his posterity

And when they did playnly see what commoditie was in the societie of man and woman: and howe more easlye and better verye manye liued together, then a fewe: yea more safer from the inuasion of wilde beastes: they began to ioyne Lordshippe to Lordshippe, and laye Familye to Familye, and also to ioyne in neighbourhoode for their owne common vtilitie. The first reasō of thē which instituted ciuil societie, or established cities, was ꝓthey might liue safely, & that they might be defended frō violence & assaultes. For tranquillitie or peaceablenes was a guide of their lyfe, to finde out innumerable cōmodities. And yt is credible that mannes speache or language, wherein surelye he doth excell other liuing creatures, was not distinct & seuered, before humane societie was first founded. The first reasō of Societie instituted.

Certainlye wee haue a common voyce, aswell as other lyuinge creatures haue, whiche doth eyther specially demonstrate and shewe forth ioye or sadnes, eyther els sometymes desire, and sometimes feare, whiche is in vs. But for to know and discerne thinges by their proper names by plaine and perfecte speache, to finishe or conclude aswell our cogitations as our effectes and meaninges, that for certaine could not be but inuented by ciuill society of men. Moreouer the studies of vertues and disciplines, or rudimentes of good Artes, and sciences, was not found out nor inuented by men which liued in solitarines. Studies of vertues and disciplines.

and of them whiche after the manner of sauage beastes led their lyues in the wooddes: but by the ciuil man, whiche was conuersant in companye of men whiche hearde many thinges, which discussed many thinges, and by whom they were inuented and first had in vse. For in such Cities as were well instructed and ordered: there were Rewardes bestowed on them which excelled in any manner of vertue and such as were also therby preferred to high promocion and adorned or made famous, with praise and commendation for their excellence. For honour as *Cicero* sayth, doth foster and mainteyne Artes and sciences, and we all are inflamed to endeuour our selues for preferrmente and prerogatiue by praise and commendatiō in our trauailes. Finally what excellent exploite so euer mortall men haue by their studie and diligence in this life put in vre, it either had firste issue and originall practize from the Citties, or elles tooke the vse and grace thereof, in the same cytties.

Honos alit artes.

Man which is brought vp or trayned in cōmon society, differeth verye muche from him that lyueth in a rude cottage, eyther elles in a hilly wilderneſſe, or wood: for this man seemeth to be borne as it were vnto crueltie, amonge wilde and brute beastes, but the other seemeth to be borne amongest men vnto Justice and humanitie. For it is true that *Aristotle* saith.

Difference of Societie humane.

> *He is a beast and not a man whiche forsaketh ciuill societie: and he that refuseth to be any parte or member of a cittie, he must needes be a wicked and vngodlye person.*

For he shunneth the companie of men because he would not be compelled to obaye the lawes and Judgement, and to obaye him that is a rightfull Ruler: then the whyche thinge surelye there can bee nothinge more pernicious or hurtfull. For of all good ciuill order the chiefe thinge is Justice, whiche no doubt layeth the foundation and grouū worke of humane societie and without the whiche there

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can bee no ciuill congregation. For as the saide Philosopher sayth, as man is the best liuing creature of all others whiche liueth perfectlye. so is he worste and naughtiest of all liuinge creatures, which is sequestred from the lawe and iudgementes.

The Lawes of the *Persians*, (as *Xenophon* writeth) doe especially ordayne thobedience due to Iustice, and in such manner euen from their Childehoode, (as we haue saide) the Cittizens did learne to desire nothinge that was sylthye or vnlawful for man to do, whiche persuasion surely me thinckethis the best of all others. And if it might by any meanes be brought to passe, that all men mighte lyue instructed in this doctrine, wee should be exonerated and discharged of a great parte of our labour otherwise. For if euerye man woulde prescribe what were nedefull to bee done, and beinge so lincked and ioyned together were not affected or moued wythe couetousnes, nor other perturbations of the mynde: they shoulde doe righte well. Ambicion shoulde not catche holde vpon anye man, couetousnes shoulde not snare anye man, dissencion or mutine shoulde not entrappe anye man, neyther shoulde enuie circumuente anye manne, to withdrawe hym from the reason of that wherein truthe and equitie consisteth: neyther should hee pursue and seeke for his priuate profyte or inordinate pleasure, rather then a publique weale, or that reason order, truthe, and equitie requireth.

Obedience vn to Iustice.

Anacharsis when he had heard say that *Solon* had geuen himselfe to the studie of publyshynge Lawes at *Athens*, exceedinglye deryded and scorned his industrie and diligeuce, affirminge that those lawes shoulde in tyme to come be like vnto Spiders webbes, whiche did catch and keepe faste the small flyes, but were broken and burste in sonder of the greate flyes: whiche sentence also *Solon* hym selfe would ble and not without a cause: for oftentimes in great Citties (and wherein the studies of good artes and sciences do florishe) we se there are very manye which liue

This is meant of lavvs made and not obserued.

worse

worse, then as if they had beene brought vp in the woods, and wielde countries. *Dion* in his bookes which are inticuled, *Of the state of a Kingedome*, did saye that weightie matters were farre better handled by the councel of a few persons then withe multitude and power of most stronge and lustye younge men: whiche in deede is ratified by the sentence of *Homer*, where as hee broughte in *Agamemnon* as pertinent to his purpose, affirminge that hee could farre more easilye destroye the Troianes common weale, if he hadten such as *Nestor*, or *Vlisses* were, then if hee had so manye suche as *Aiax*, and *Achilles* were, fyghtinge stoutly and valiauntlye.

Oligarchia.

That state of a Common weale wherein fewe doe gouerne, differeth verye little at all from the state of Tyrannye, for by their wealthe and their riches, the magistrates are chosen, and onelye wealth beareth swaye. Neyther doth this prescribe libertie or ende of vertue, but onelye how to gette ryches, whiche *Cicero* affirmeth: *Are the subsedies of warfare and the ornaments of peace.*

But the matter goes ill with the rich men, when no place is reserued for vertue, and the common people bee as it were altogether brought vnder foote & subiection. And it coms to passe now & then that in som cities, onelye hãdycraftesmen & husbandmen do beare a sway, which because thei are more in number, they doe decaye those that bee more noble of birth and callinge, yea and haue suche in derision and contempt which are zealous in any kind of vertue and learned in good artes or sciences. It maye bee brought to passe by fortune that such a Cittye which is so gouerned, may stand in safetye and quietnes for a certayn tyme, but fortune frowning on them, it is sone perceiued, how hard a matter it will be to lyue well amongest suche manner of men. For they that are broughte vp in fieldes, or in shoppes are voyde of experience in all thinges, and do beare authoritie with a seruile mynde, neyther are they furthered or furnished w doctrine, noblenes of race

or

or with the experience of waighty affaires. And whyle they stande in feare of the nobler sort, they doe all thinges eyther rashlye withoute aduisemente, or cruellye withoute measure: for euery cõmunaltie eyther serues in obedience with humilitie, or ruleth with great crueltie.

Furthermore it seemeth contrary to equitie ẏ whereas the citie cannot consist of Nobles onelye, but farre greater muste bee the reste of the multitude, or communaltie, that onelye the Noble men shoulde beare rule, and all the reste obaye.

Noble men ruling, the rest due duly obeyinge cause the citty to florishe.

For tillage of ground & husbandrie bringeth vnto vs, naturall nourishement, and marchandize doth bringe vnto vs, all other thinges necessarie for our vse: Whereby it comes to passe that neither without husbandmẽ nor without marchauntes, can ciuill societie bee amongeste men.

They therfore are not to be exempted away frõ publike offices, whose seruice is seene to bee necessary in a Common weale, leaste they thinkinge theymselues to bee had in contempte, shrincke awaye and withdrawe theymselues from the Rulers and Gouernours. For so often as the people of Rome did seperate theymselues from the Senatours, they were neuer withoute greate peryll and daunger eftsones renued.

Surelye the meane sorte of men, which are neyther to much abiect or base, neither yet boaste theymselues in the wealth of their nobilitye, doe farre more modestlye beare rule. But if it must needes bee that either the nobilitie, or communalty onelye, shoulde beare auctoritye, I thinke it farre more safely should the matter be handled, by gouernment of the Nobles, then of the commons: for seeldome againste comlynes or honestye dothe bee any thing, whiche seeth that by his doings he shall hazard the prayse of his auncestors with hymselfe, but he that being of hymselfe base and obscure hathe hys auncestors farre more obscure, seemeth to make vnto hymselfe a very smal losse if sometimes he do any thing amisse: And if ther wante no

examples of rusticall persons, and men vnknowen which haue fought valiantly for their cõtry.

For wee reade, that some haue beene called from the plowe, other some from the flocke of shepe or other beardes, which haue obtained great victories vnto ẏ *Romaines*. But I am one of that nõber which account that to be the best cõmon weale which is intermixt w̃ al kind of people.

The best common vveale.

That is counted the beste common weale wherein not euery man that listeth or the more parte doe beare auctoritye, at ẏ Becke and Checke of wyll, but that Common weale wherein the Lawe onelye shall beare a swaye: for equality of iustice amongest citizens maketh a stable & fyrme society, which euen then greatly florisheth when as all thinges are iudged and ordered with equall ryght and Justice. For it chaunceth for the most parte, that affections doe trouble the iudgementes of men: some one, feare appaulleth: some others, hatred: some hope: some other, awe and dread: and some other, ambicion or couetousnes cõpelleth to iudge those thigs which are not only cõtrary to equity: but also contrary to ẏ mind of him which iudgeth. For we see oftentymes, the Iudge moued wyth a certeyn affectiõ, doth determin those things whych wythin a short space after he would willingly alter and chaunge.

Æqualitie in a Cvity causeth concorde.

Equality amongst Cytyzens causeth concord, without the whych, ciuyll societye is seene to be neyther firme nor stable at al. For no force or strẽgth can sufficiẽtly preuail, no sauegard, no riches, no reuennes can suffice those cities which are disquieted or troubled w̃ intestine warres. And agayn also, neyther shal that cyty be sclender in power nor of smal cõtinuance which is enuyzoned & fortified with cõcorde of the Citizens. Therefore there muste bee great forecaste had, ẏ the Citizens may liue with equal Justyce & that some do not alwayes beare rule, & that other some do not remain alwais as inferiours, for al society is vnstable there, where all men doe not lyue in indifferencye of Justice.

Man

Man (forasmuche as he loueth and fauoureth his owne kynne, and is congregable or geeuen to companye, & sociable or geuen to felowshyp more then other lyuing creatures: and seing no society can be firme or stable without iustice) appeareth to be thereunto especially borne, whych he fauoreth and is affected most vnto.

And the first duty of Justice is *Piety* or godly zeale towardes God: partaker of which vertue doubtles ther is no liuynge creature elles seene to be, but onely man. For mã onely doth acknowledge God, and hym as the aucthour & creator of the worlde, & worckmaister of all thinges doth reuerence & worshyp, by whom surely he acknowledgeth himself to be made partaker of reason, in whom he seinge that Justice is all in all, it behoueth that he show himself a folower of Justice, if he would haue himselfe to be counted lyke vnto himself. The first dutye of Iustice

It bredeth great discretiõ, wher, amõgst thẽ which are foũd guilty in cryme alyke, som are greuously punished, & other som escape vntouched altogether: it should bee otherwise if thoffences were not alyke. For far more greuously is that gouernour or shypmaister to be punished, which ouerwhelmeth the same being laden with golde and siluer, thẽ hee whiche bathe loste or perished a Shyppe laden withe Sande or Potcers claye, and yet eyther of these bathe neglected hys duty. For thyngs of more value semes iustlye to require more diligence. For there can bee no better perswasion in ciuil societie, then ỳ which toucheth the fredom of the city, whereunto the mind of euery Cytizen is to be dyrected, whiche surely shalbe an easy matter to bee done if in maner all men wil hope and trust wel that somtyme they maye supplye the function of a magistrate: for euery man laboureth for renowme, which when he shal se hymselfe preuented of, and that hee is frustrate of hope, he is neuer at quiet in hys mynde, and eyther shall he bee the more negligent in a common weale, or appeare altogether euill affected towardes the same. Hereupon do sedi-

cions growe amongest Cittyzens, from hence do also rise factions and Enimities, which things surely do weaken the state of a publique weale: therfore a magistrate ought to haue a determinate & prefixed tyme apointed for ẏ gouernment & exercise of his office. For, to beare aucthoritie continuallye in a free cittie is hatefull: it muste also bee wisely forsene ẏ the Cytyzens be found iuste amonge thē selues, directyng all their doinges vnto vertue, and ẏ beinge contente withe their owne goodes that they doe not desire other mennes.

No place for loyterers in a comon vveale.

Let there be no place for ydle persons in a common weale, for, surely by meanes of slowth and sluggishnes, they do commit all wickednes: wherupon true is that Oracle of *Marcus Cato*,

By slouth and doinge nothinge at all,
Men learne to do euill: great and small.

They doe alwayes enuie at the paynfull trauell of the good cityzens, vnto whom when they can not be like, they labour with hartburning and hatred how to weaken and disturbe their estate. Such therefore as lyue ydlye muste bee excluded from publique offices, because neyther can they rule worthely, & also do withdraw their duty frō obedience. In which matters all ciull societie is conteyned.

Their opinion is not to bee commended whiche saye that by the faulte or offence of the parents, their posteritie shoulde bee for euer excluded oute of the publique weale, for in so doinge thei shall dispayre altogether of felicitie when they see that all hope of pardon is debarred: and that they cannot redeme themselelues by any vertue, or worthynes. For it oftentimes chanceth ẏ their mindes are most ready and prone, to innouation, and desperation sometime is turned into mighty courage: for they whiche are in any extremitie, do easelye take hold vppon the sentence of

tence of the moſt learned Poet *Maro*,

Una ſalus victis, nullam ſperare ſalutem.

It is onely compted a ſafety vnto thoſe which bee vanquiſhed or conuinced, not to hope for any ſafetye at all.

Of al thinges, (as *Cicero* writeth) wherof there is any commoditie to bee gotten, nothinge can bee better or more commodious then huſbandry or tillage of grounde. Then this, nothing is more plentifull, nothinge ſweeter, neyther yet more worthye for the ſtate of a freman in a cõmon weale: for onely huſbandrye is ſuch as vnto whome gentlemen & others ought to ſet to their hands, both for ỹ neceſſity of ſuſtentacion vnto our lyfe, (forasmuch as without the ſame we cannot lyue) and agayn becauſe it yeldes vs a moſte honeſt gayne wythout deceipt or ſpinge. Husbandry profitable.

Surely ponge men are made ſtronge w̃ the exerciſe of tillage of ỹ groũd, and be far more healthy then ſuch as are trayned vp in Cytyes, where as they ſpinge, ſleepe and luſtes of the bodye, are enfebled and vnhealthie.

Yt is not therefore to bee meruayled, yf the *Romaynes* brought forth youngmen hardened in the fieldes, when they conquered the whoole worlde, not by Idlenes and ſlouth, but wyth ſtength and fortitude.

But we in theſedayes do ſhonne the trade of huſbandry as a fylthy lucre, yea and haue the huſbandmen in deriſion, and do diſpyſe them as ſlaues or bondmen, and ſuche as are borne to perpetuall drudginge, and do eſteme Brokers, Pedlers, Cookes, and Coblers, more then wee doe of a good huſbandman, whoſe induſtrye (we then do ſaye) excedeth the induſtrye of al other worckemen, when the common people ready to ſterue for hunger earneſtlye craueth their helpe and nouriſhement, and when they beinge hungerſterued and pynched wythe Famyne becommeth vnrulye and paſte all feare: For huſbandrye onlye yeldes vnto vs nouriſhemente, it helpeth and furthereth buildinge, and almoſt findeth ſufficiency alſo of apparell: onlye the Huſbandman is a breeder of Cattle: whiche

thing was of such estimation among the auncient people that *Cato* being demaunded, in what thing doyng a man myghte bee quickely made ryche: yf (sayth hee) a manne feede well. And beyuge agayne demaunded what thynge elles? (sayth he) yf hee feede well. By the whyche aunswere he sheweth vs, that euen a meane dylygence of the maister in feedinge his Cattell exceedethe other profyres. For in dede there is no Arte or Scyence nor any industrye of men sooner maketh a man ryche, then husbandrye.

Hesiodus and *Homer*, dyd more allow of the instrumentes, and necessaries pertayninge to husbandrye and of husbandmen, then of warryors or warlyke assayres: for the one prompteth vnto mennelyke and felycitye, the other death and myserye.

Good housholders oughte to take accompte of theyr Seruauntes and Familyes Idlenes, rather then of theyr busines: and the moste learned of the auncient fathers iudged that there was nothinge more odyous and hatefull then slouthe and drowsines of the mynde: wherefore before they shoulde eate theyr meate, they called the yong men and seruaunes to the table, and tooke accompt of thē what duety or what busines they had done that daye: and before theym onlye they set meate: whose dylygence they lyked & allowed, & those they thrust out of the place accustomed to suppe in, whyche by theyr slouthe and sluggishnes had done nothing: & cōmaunded that they should labour hard in som dutiful busines to earn theyr own foode. Let those take vpon them thys charge whych (especially, in a common weale doe beare rule: to see that younge men do applye their mynds vnto the studie of good artes or Scyences. For in euery free Cytye there ought to bee a speciall care for the mayntenaunce of good artes & scyences. For *Plato* sayde: *Blessed are those common weales which of wyse and learned men are gouerned.*

Good housholders vvhat they ought to doe.

Good artes or scyences to be cared for.

Or at

Or at the leaſt (ſythens we all cannot proue learned) wherein Marchaundize, ſeafaring trade, and other Sciences profytable vnto ciuill ſocietye were frequented and vſed.

Euery man ought to labour aſmuch as he may, to profyte himſelfe, his familye, and other Cytyzens. For amongeſte thoſe moſt ſtreite Lawes whyche *DRACO* made, there was eſpecially one, that, they whyche were condempned for Ydleneſſe, ſhoulde bee punished withe deathe.

DIODORVS wryteth that there was a Lawe amonge the Egiptians, whereby all men were compelled to declare their names vnto their rulers, and to ſhow by what arte, or by what manner of gayne they lyued. And yf anye man lyed or lyued by vniuſte Lucre or gayne, the ſame was adiudged to dye: and truelye not withoute cauſe: for thoſe that bee ydle and ſlouthful youngmen, are the poyſon of the cyttye: they are apte and prone to luſte and pleaſure, they doe enuye thoſe that bee good, they couet and deſire other mennes goodes, and finallye they proue ſedicious and troubleſome, inſomuche as the greateſt troubles ryſe vpon them.

A lavv amōg the Egiptians for due knovvledge in order of lyuinge.

Marcus Cato wrote verye well in his bookes of Manners, that mannes lyfe was as Iron, whyche if a man do exercyſe and putte in vſe, is in wearinge made bryghte, but beinge vnexercyſed and not put in vſe, is withe Ruſte conſumed and canckered. So men with honeſt exerciſe are in like caſe tryed and wozne and yf they bee not exercyſed, ſlouthe and drowſines doth bryng to theym more detrymente and dammage, then dylygence or paynes taking, doth good.

Exerciſe of mannes lyfe vvhat it is

For very well doth *Cato* touche the ſame in hys Oration made at *Numantia* to the Horſemen. ſayinge: You Souldiours, conſyder in youre myndes yf you ſhall doe anye thynge well by Laboure or Trauayle, the

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labour and trauail doth quickly departe but the good that you doe in the same laboure and traueil, stil doth remayn for euer: but if you take any pleasure in doinge euill, the pleasure quickly departeth, but the euill that you doe, remainethe for euer: whiche sentences declare that there is nothinge worse then ydlenes, neyther anye thinge more prayseworthy then industry and traueil. Merchants and handicraftesmen are to be fauored, which w̄ their labour and industry get their liuinge, and do make the cyties far more abundant in thinges which may profite al men: for, merchaunts are necessary which do carye awaye from vs such things as we haue superfluous or to much store of, & by exchaunge, and sales of their commodities do bringe vs those thinges whiche shalbee necessarye for vs.

Merchaunts & vvorkmen in a citty.

The custome of the *Belgians* and lowe countryemen, doth seme to me verye allowable, because they wyll not suffer Merchauntes to come and traffyque with thē whiche shall brynge vnto theym those thinges that maye cause them to be effeminately mynded. For it chaunceth in oure tymes that the prouocations of venery and lustes, as entysementes to vayne pleasures, on euerye syde are brought vs from the furthest part of the Ocean sea. Certaynly such manner of nauigation or trafyque cannot be necessarye, and as I iudge muste needes be lesse commendable, but onely that whiche makethe exchaunge with superfluous thinges for such kind of commoditie, as may bee moste for our proffyte.

Vayne traffiques.

A certeyn *Laconian* did say (as it is reported) ẏ there is an end or measure to be prescribed vnto lucre or gayne, for & in cōsideracion of the diuers chances of fortune: least ẏ in a small momente of tyme the merchaunte doe loose and let slyppe that whyche in all hys lyfe tyme he hath gayned and be compelled of necessitye to consume and waste, the same in expences, whych thinge vndoubtedlye, cannot come to passe withoute reproche and dishonestye, althoughe the partye be nothynge faultye.

A measure & meane in merchants gayne.

There

Therefore to the ende that Merchauntes maye liue without ſutch repꝛoche, let them pꝛeſcribe vnto them ſelues a meaſure and ende in their couetous attemptes, leaſte they bee compelled to ſuffer pouerty in their oulde age, with deriſion alſo.

And yet notwithſtandinge, *Socrates* iudgeth them that buye of thoſe greate Merchauntes to thintent to ſell the ſame again, to be woꝛthy of diſpꝛayſe, except by weakneſ of age oꝛ by reaſon of their vnhealthfulneſ of bodye they cannot put in pꝛactiſe any other kinde of tꝛade to liue vppon.

The lawe of *Solon* is pꝛayſed eſpecially wherin hée oꝛdayned, that, that chylde was not bounden vnto his father, in any neceſſary duety of life, of whom he had receaued no Arte, Science oꝛ Tꝛade, to get his liuinge withal.

Handy craftes men oꝛ woꝛckemen which pꝛouide thoſe thinges that are pꝛofitable vnto vs, and without whome we may leſſe commodiouſly liue, are not onely to be boꝛne withall: but alſo are to be taken and reputed amongeſt the moſt honeſt Citizens. Smithes, Foũders, Caruers, Engrauers, Pꝛinters, Potters, Glaſiers, Shoomakers, Curriours, Taylers, Weauers, Joyners, Maſons, Clothiers, Pargeters, roughmaſõs, Ironmõgers, & verye many other ſuch like faculties are to be admitted, partly becauſ they pꝛouid ſuch thigs as be neceſſary. Partly becauſ thei make their citie moꝛe noble ẅ diuers oꝛnamẽts.

Certayne handicraftesmen neceſſary in a commonvveal

The *Lacedemonians*, to the ende they might withdꝛaw their Citizens from all filthy gaine, and pꝛouoke them vnto Huſbandꝛye, Huntinge and warrefare. did caſte out of their Citty as well their Golde as their Siluer: coumptinge it a peſtilence oꝛ plague vnto the Citizens. And oꝛdained to be made a certaine coyne of Iron which was moꝛe weighty, to the ende they might be extruded & ſequeſtred frõ al company of their neighbours, and liue witheout the tradinge, to oꝛ with any foꝛrayne Countryes. They which tꝛade in Merchaundice with modeſty

and do take no vsury (which thinge *Marcus Cato* declared was the next poinct to a murderer?) for to one that demaũded of him, what it seemed vnto him, to be an vserer, hee aunswered, what is it to kill a man? And they which doe not lye, neither deceaue others, with periury, or lyinge I deeme them worthy to be enryched wyth the benefittes of of a commonwealth.

Vsury forbidden.

Worckemen giuen to fylthye gayne and which are the ministers of pleasures, and do prouide for the prouocations of gluttony, & lechery, are not only not to be admitted, into a common weale, but also to be thrust out of a Citty: for wythe their typling houses and places of ryot, they do hurt vnto many, and profyt to no man.

And those that exercise or vse light arts and faculties, whereby riseth no profite, are to bee neglected and had in contempte and rather to bee derided, then esteemed or rewarded.

The fyrste respecte or regarde of geuinge our voyces is to be had of honesty, and vertue. And the seconde of lyberall sciences which in a Citty bringe with them moste plentifull profit. The thirde consideration is to bee had of Nobilitye, for they whose auncestours haue florished famous with some kinde of prayse, their children and posterity are not to be neglected, except by their reproch or ignominye, they do darken & emblemish the prayse and cõmendation of their auncestours. And the fourth consideration, ought to be had of them, which profet the Citizens by trade of Merchaundice, worckmanship and industrye, makynge the Citye therebye more wealthye and renowmed.

Reasons of regarde in a common vveale.

Vulcane who was most skilfull in the arte of Astronomie, & which was also the successour of *Mercury* in the kingdome dyd inuent the mines of siluer, gold, and iron. The Grecians holde opinion that he fyrst made and deuised the fier tongs of brasse or copper, & other necessaryes touchinge husbandry.

And

And they saye that in the Arte of warre he could do verye muche: and that hee was made lame, by reason of a wounde whiche he receyued in his foote: he also helde opinion, that the Planets and starres were fyery, and that all thinges were made and created of fyre.

It shal therfore behoue them (which beare rule in a cõmon weale, to be careful ẏ there want no deuisers or chief workmaisters in a citty: for when the sacred or publique buildinges, are by euill measure & proportion framed, yt ministreth occasion to straungers to thinke, that the chief princes and rulers of that common weale are cleane voyd of elegancy: but priuate mens houses being euil tymbred, vnhandsomely seuered withe windowes and lightes, and beautified vncomely, are for habitacion nothing handsom and expedient. Let the chiefe master of the worke therfore respect and loke wel to the forme and fashion of houses in the city, & to the cõmoditye of the buyldings & houses, in time of peace and quietnes: but in time of warres an Architecte or chiefe deuiser of workes shall stande in so good steede for engines, gonnes and other munitions, that hee cannot but be worthy of great preferm̃et, honour, & publique offices: for we reade of some cittyes that haue bene delyuered frõ the siege of their enemies, only by the skilfull dylygence of the chiefe deuiser or workemaister. Workmaysters and deuisers of Workes.

Amongst other spectacles which throughout al ẏ world are praysed: the city of *Thebes* in Egipt was coũpted for the greatnes therof, for the walles and for building, most worthiest of admiration: for it had. C. gates by situation distinct & seuered one from another, w̃ notable and artificial workmanship, wherupon it had so glorious a name, & was of such excellency, ẏ al the whole prouince there was called by the name of the Citizens of *Thebes*: and yet the same was subuerted before the Empyre of Rome. Thebes a spectacle

The brick walles of *Babylon* which *Semiramis* builded, contayned in compasse. 385. furlongs in height: betwene the towers fyfty cubites, and in bredth thirty foote. Babilon.

The Art of payntyng sheweth in it selfe greate erudicion & learning & much resembleth poetry: For *Sextus Empiricus* (after the opiniō of *Symonides* the poet) said ẏ a picture is a stil or silēt Poesie, & the poesie to be a talking picture: And certaynlye it is an arte of great wysdome and doth touche neare vnto deuine knowledge so to conceyue in mynd the dyuers formes of lyuing creatures and other things, so to expresse them with pencill, and dyuers coullours that there seemes nothinge wantinge vnto theym, but lyfe and breathe.

The arte of paintinge.

For wee reade that an Oxe dyd lowe at the beholding of a certayn pyctured Oxe: and that not a fewe haue ben deceyued wyth the sighte of grapes pictured. And that byrdes haue also bene styrred vp to reioyce at the paynted proportion or similitude of their kynde.

For a pycture hath not onely a grace with it, and geeueth wonderfull delectacion: but also reserueth the memory of thinges that are done and past, and showeth perpetually before our eyes, the hystorye of thinges that are done. And moreouer in reading of paynted stories wherin notable exploytes are expressed, wee are excited vnto the studies of prayse, and to the endeuour of accomplishinge weighty and great matters. Wherfore it shal not be feared least ẏ the hands of young men be stayned, or spotted wythe coullors, sythens payntinge commethe nearest vnto learninge it selfe.

Iulius Cæsar being sent as Questor or Threasurer into *Spayne*, when he came to *Gades*, marking well and beholdynge the Image of *Alexander* the great in the Temple of *Hercules*, sighed, & as it were bewayled his own slouth & negligence, that as yet in those yeares of his, he had not done any thinge worthye prayse: whereas *Alexander* before hee attayned to that age, had conquered the greateste parte of the worlde.

The noble mynde of Iulius Cæsar.

He required of the Senate that he might haue free lybertye

hertye to eaſe hymſelfe of thoſe their affayres: and beinge pricked forward w̄ memoriall of ſuch like prayſe, wythin a ſmall tyme hee excelled and ſurmounted, the deedes & prowes of *Alexander* of *Macedonie*,

Cato Cenſorius ſeemed ſcarce quiet in mynde becauſe there was no Image erected for hym: and vnto one that demaunded hym why he had not hys picture or ymage aſwell as a greate ſort of others: he aunſwered, I had rather that good men ſhould muſe and doubte, why I haue it not, then (whyche is worſe) to murmure in their mynds, why I ſhould haue it.

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FINIS.

The

THE SECOND BOKE

entreatinge of carefull regarde for the supportation of learninge, the necessarie vtilitie of *liberal Artes and Scyences, and examples* perswading to the vse of other exercises for *all, profitable to a weale publique.*

Kinges of Ægipt only bent to learninge & knowledge.

THE kynges of Egipte, farre more esteemed the prayse of good disciplines, & Sciences, then of Warfare. And therefore they all with a wōderfull dylygence bent theymselues to the studies of wisdome, neyther dyd any of theym thincke hymselfe able or sufficiente enoughe to beare rule, vnlesse hee surmounted and excelled the residue in some kynde of doctryne or learninge, and employed hys whole indeuour to the furtheraunce and profitinge of many others.

The Lybrarye of Ptolomeus.

Wyth thys industrye *Ptolomeus* beinge incited, furnished and made that famous Libzary at *Alexandria*, to the ende he mighte therby sow the seede of wisdome vnto his Posteritye, and profite bothe the Cyttizens, and also straungers.

Hee also instituted playes vnto the *Muses* and vnto *Apollo*: and ordayned vnto Poetes and Orators at theyr disputations, as vnto Champions in their Combattes, greate rewardes and hygbe dignities, that they mygbte the more diligently take paynes in the studies and exercises of learning.

Egiptian lore.

Learninge (doubtlesse) was most auncient among the Egiptians, whose priestes whiche were conuersaunte about their Kinges and rulers, were accompted the firste of all others that were notable in the Mathematicall sciences, and vnto them also did resort thick and thzefolde, scholars out of all nacions of ꝑ world to learne: neyther was any man thought sufficiētly learned, which was not skilful in the Egiptian lore or discipline, to the attayning whereof

whereof (as *Diodorus Siculus* maketh mention) *Orpheus Musæus, Melampus, Dædalus, Homerus, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, Eudoxus, Democritus, Euripides*, and many others went thyther, who haue made famous al disciplines of all other nations.

I deeme it best first & especially: that al men (if it were possible) should be learned, neyther am I of their opinion which saye that learning is the plague and destruction of wyt & memory, amongst whom was *Plato*, who affirmed that the vse of letters was a hinderaunce vnto memorye, because those thinges (which we haue layd vp in wryting) we (as it were) cease to kepe in memory: euen as those thinges which we haue layd vp in strong chestes, vnder locke and key we thinke to be sure ynough, & take no more care therfore: notwithstanding amongst al the deuises of mē, I doubt whether euer any thinge were deuised or vttered more excellent: for it seemeth a thing straunge and miraculous howe in a fewe notes or Letters, so infinite speches of men, & innumerable words, & sētences should be cōprised & cōprehended: for al kynd of doctrine & learning should be mortall & subiect vnto decay, yea the acts & gestes of men should be sone buried in obliuiō, if they wer not registred and reserued in monumentes of learninge: which haue bene so highely accompted of, that many both people, and moste excellente personages doe challenge to them selues, the inuention thereof.

Those letters, therefore doe I deeme not onelye to bee throughly learned: but also scarcely can I thinke any mā in a free cytty can or may deserue the name of a witty Citizen withoute the knowledge of learninge: for how without learning can we attaine not only vnto the high knowledge of liberall sciences, but also thereby learne manye small artes or faculties: neither can merchandize it selfe or husbādry, be in sufficient sauety without them: for these do keepe the memory of things past, they instruct posterytye: they annexe and compare thinges done and past, vnto thinges

No Wytty Citizen vvithout learninge.

to thinges yet to come, and do keepe a perpetuall reckoninge of all our whole lyfe.

The best waye herein to bee done therefore, is to trayne yong childrē herunto before they apply any other maters: if in tyme to come wee desire to haue them proue men, or to be reputed and taken in the nomber of Cytyzens: for surelye the Greeke prouerbe is:

A man voyde of skill and wantinge learned lore,
To a tree vnprofitable, comparde is euermore.

Care for scholemasters

Gouernours therfore of common weales oughte to be carefull & diligently to foresee ỳ for euery liberall Art or good learning, ther may be assigned ỳ best scholemaisters to be mayntayned wyth a publique stipend, whyche maye teache openlye: for euery priuate person cannot maintein lyuing for their Chyldren, and recompence their Scholemaisters wyth conuenient stypende, and ordynary salary. And especiallye let the Scholemaisters teaching Grammer be excellent and notable, yea not onely in learninge but in manners also moste approued: for it is most daungerous as it is spoken in the Prouerbe: *To betake a sheepe into the custodye of a wolfe*. And to fynde hym whom thou putteste in trust as scholemaister to thy children, a corrupter and marrer of them, For the vices wherewithe Chyldren at that age are polluted, do eyther remayne perpetually, or elles wyth greate difficultie are they withdrawn from them.

Grammer.

The Romaynes so greatly esteemed Grammer, that by decree, they ordayned the same to be taught wyth a cōmon salary, in the open streetes or high ways, by meanes whereof it was called long time the cōmon Science: manye affirme that this Art was first deuised, and inuented at *Memphis*, a cyttye in Egipt.

Pythagoras, the Prince of Italian Philosophie (whom *Plato* doth in all pointes for most parte imitate) thinketh the

the scyences Mathematicall to be moste necessarye for the ciuill man: In vayne (as he iudgeth) shall a man studye Philosophy, which hath not tasted of the same, not as they saye superficially, but euen throughly and effectually.

Lucius Columella would haue euery day to be obserued by the rules of Astronomie, bothe for profite in husbandrye, and agayn, for the auoyding of manyfold daungers whereof we may be warned to take heede by them that be skylfull.

Anaximander Milesius forewarned the *Lacedæmonians* that they shoulde looke well to their Cyttye and houses: for he foresawe by this Science, that there was an earthquake at hand, whych thynge doubtlesse came so to passe: and a greate parte of that Cytty and of the hyll *Taygetus* fell flatte to the grounde.

So *Hyppocrates* did foreshewe a plague or pestilence whiche shoulde come from the *Illyrians*, and dispersed his Scholars round about the Cyttes of Greece, to succour and relieue them that should be diseased. Astronomie.

Pericles generall of the *Athenians*, when as his hoste was astonied at the Eclipse of the Sunne, and ready to yelde the victorye to their enemies, whom they thought ꝑ gods more fauoured, deliured thē: from their perplexity, disclosing the cause namely that it was the natural order of the Sunne, and that it came not to passe by any displeasure of god or anye vnnaturall euent.

In the discipline or doctrine of Astronomie, & in other sciences Mathematical, *Publius Nigidius* did very greatlye excel amonge the Romaines: to whome was attributed for a Sirname, Potter, by reason of his excellent deuise and inuention of that knowledge: for when it was proposed & argued, why two Twinnes both borne at one byrth shoulde haue diuersitie of destenie, seinge they were both begotten and borne vnder one Planet, and he defending his Art, denied, ꝑ ꝑ could not be, by reason of ꝑ swift mouinge of Celestiall Orbes, shewinge the same by this

meanes, he styrred about the wheele, that bare about the Potters Claye, with e greate force, and vppon the same did cause two droppes of Incke, and after a pawse made from turning the wheele, the droppes were found a good waye a sonder, in the vttermoste partes of the Wheele: how now (saythe he) can they thincke that Twynnes be a lyke destenied, and borne vnder one planet, when as the heauens are moued and whirled with so swift mouinge & turning: seing the wheele of a Potter being turned about with a small course, doth manifest before your Eyes, the two drops of yncke at one time to be shaken and sprinkled into two seuerall places: surelye this deuise was so well lyked of the Audience, that it yelded vnto the Aucthoure the palme and victorye of the disputacion, and a perpetuall Syrname.

Example of destenye in two Twynnes.

Lycurgus dyd so allowe, and esteeme the Scyence of Musicke: that hee affirmed the same to bee geeuen vnto men by nature, to the more easie bearing and tolleration of their labours and trauayles: and he ordayned the vse of playinge on the shalmes in warfare, whereuppon they should playe both at theyr marchynge forwardes, and at their retyre also: and so styrre vp and encourage the myndes of the Souldiers that euen the moste cowardly person beinge pricked forth with ꝑ sounde therof, dyd sometymes proue the moste valiaunte, and atchieued the victorye for their countrye. The people of *Creta* also, when they were about to assault theyr enemies, wer excyted and encouraged to fyghte, by the noyse of the Harpe. The *Argiues* with Shaulmes as the Latines with Trumpettes, and the Frenchemen with Cornettes, were encouraged and anymated.

Musicke.

Tymotheus the moste excellent Musician when he was disposed to aduaunce hymselfe any tyme before *Alexander* the Kynge, tuned his instrumentes so cunningly and musicallye, that the Kynge hauinge mynde of none other thynge but that onelye, and beynge therewith pearced

and

and penetrated to the harte, as it were by ſom deuyne admiration would ſtreight lay hand on his weapō and take thereby occaſion to ouercome his enemies.

Muſicke in a free Cytty is to be allowed, yea although it brought no other thinge eils then pleaſure and delyte: for wee cannot alwayes bee buſied in affayres: and thys kynd of oblectation euen in oure buſines and dealings ys moſte honeſt: for as *CICERO* ſaythe very well: *It is the parte of a free manne ſometymes to doe nothinge, and to wythdrawe hys wearyed mynde from long care otherwyſe.* Whyche thynge eſpecially muſicke bringeth to paſſe, making vs thereby to forget our Labours, Trauayles, and myſeries.

Plato deuiſed three ſortes of Muſicke, the one he ſayde was manifeſte, conſiſtinge onelye in voyce: as wee ſee ys vſed when men ſynge: the Seconde aſwell wythe the voyce, as wythe the hande: as when wyth the ſtrykinge vppon the ſtrynges, we vſe to ſynge to the Inſtrumentes: and the thirde (ſaythe hee) is onelye fynyſhed withe the hands & fingers: as when the voyce being ſylent and ſtyl, we ſtryke and playe vppon an Inſtrument.

PYTHAGORAS thincketh that Muſicke was not the inuention of men but of the fyrſt worckemaiſter of the vniuerſall worlde, whyche made the Celeſtiall Orbes, to yeld and make a certayn harmonie in their diſtinct motions, whereout proceedeth the fyrſt inuention of humane muſicke: whiche muſicke doubtleſſe is profitable vnto a cyuyll perſon, and doth not onely delighte the mynde, but alſo nouriſhe the wytte, makynge men more prompte and couragious, not onelye in warlyke affayres, but alſo to atchieue euery waighty matter. The inuention of muſicke after the opinio of Pythagoras.

And moreouer wee reade of *PAEON* and dyuers other Phyſytians, whoſe Pacientes almoſt diſpayringe of recouerye, haue beene healed and recouered by the delyghtes and pleaſures taken in Muſycke and that

certayne mad men haue bene brought to their right wits agayne, by the same meane.

Phisicke. If wee will haue anye regarde of the health of our bodies and tranquillitie of lyfe (whych without prosperous healthe can scarcelye be had, we shall confesse ỳ Physycke is the most excellent and necessary Arte pertayninge vnto mortall men: For as *Cornelius Celsus* maketh mentiõ, who hath written most excellent bokes of this discipline: Husbandrye affordeth nourishement to our bodyes when they bee healthfull, and Phisicke promiseth healthe vnto persons diseased: and therfore we ought to render thankes to the lyuing god, who hath graunted vs lyfe: next of all vnto the Phisician who dothe conserue the same vnto vs, and maketh it healthfuller & of longer continuaunce. For to proue that this Arte of all other Sciences is moste auncient, ỳ best learned Greeke Authours do testifye: for the inuenter hereof was *Apis* the sonne of *Phoroneus*, and *Pytho* king of Egipt.

Dyet, medicin, and manula cure. The auncient writers deuided Phisick into three partes, the one to consiste in dyet, another in remedies or medicines, and the thirde in artificall cure of the hand: and vnto this parte, did the inuentions of *Alcmæon Crotoniata* scholar to *Pythagoras* the Phisician much helpe, who searchinge euery member of mannes bodye, and cuttinge vpp all and euery ioynte and inwarde article, of all the vytall partes, was the fyrste that deuised and inuented the dissection or Anatomie of mannes body.

If medicine for the body be necessary in a good commõ weale, for the sondrye kyndes of diseases, whiche chaunce dayly vnto mortall men, to thend with strong & sound bodies we may lyue well: how much more necessarye shall ỳ phisicke of the soule and mynde bee, without the whyche the bodies themselues cãnot be in good health or lyking? For man is subiect vnto manye diseases, by reason of the dyuers kyndes of meates whereof he feedeth, as *Homer* sayth: yet notwithstanding the diseases of the mynde are

not

not fewer, then the diſeaſes of the bodye, and wherewyth we be far moze vexed and indaungered: what diſeaſe ſeemeth anger to be, wherwith when we bee throughlye chafed, lytle oz nothinge do we differ from mad and furious franticke perſons? What diſeaſe ſeemeth couetouſnes to bee? wherewith when we be throughly enflamed, we cannot be gratefull vnto our owne Countrye, not to our Parentes noz chyldzen, neyther yet vnto oure ſelues; What doth feare? what doth trembling? what doth ſlouth and ſluggiſhenes worke, and bzyng to paſſe in vs? and other perturbations of the mynde innumerable, whyche when they ſeyſe vpon vs, we are not onely in mynde but alſo in bodye diſquieted: but the Medicine oz Phyſicke foz the mind is ſpecially Eloquence, which by the reaſons and argumentes of Philoſophy repzeſſeth oz keepeth vnder, ſuch perſons as wold be to much puffed vp with vyces, lyfting vp thoſe that are caſt downe, and makinge very daſterdes to become valiant perſons: foz what other foꝛce oz power can there be better, then by the foꝛce of eloquence, to bzydle the raginge and furyous common people, when their courage fayleth theim foz feare, & to ſtyze them afreſhe to valiauntnes. Eloquence.

Auncient wzyters ſaye that Eloquence was the ladye and Miſtris of matters, nether is it only accoumpted pzofitable in peace and quietnes, but alſo in warres and tumultes excellethe all other ſtrengthe and foꝛce: whyche thinge to be true *Pyrrhus* king of the Epyzotes affyzmed. Foz when he did make warres in Italye, hee retayned as his compaygnion of his exploites *Cyneas* the *Theſſalian* an Dzatoz and diſciple of *Demoſthenes*, vſinge his helpe and ſeruice, at eche pyche moſt earneſtlye: foz vnto the cyties whiche he coulde not ſubdue by foꝛce and armour, he ſent *Cyneas* his Dzatoz: which Cyties foz the moſte parte he perſwaded to ſurrender, euen as he deſired: inſomuch that *Pyrrhus* vſed often times to ſaye that mo citties were wonne and bzought vnder his power and ſubiectiõ by the

Eloquence of *Cyneas*, then were by himselfe banquished by force of armes.

The Arte of Oratorye consistethe in three Sortes of causes: Whereof the fyrste conteyneth Perswasion, and Dysswasion: for what thynges soeuer are in a common weale aduised or deliberated vppon, they haue neede of perswasion and disswasion, to the intente the truth maye be boulted oute: Wherfore an Oratoure, that is to saye a good man, skilfull and flowinge in vtteraunce, shal perswade suche thinges as shalbe thoughte profytable, leaste the People slyde or fall awaye by a sinyster and false opinion, and allowe well of that which within a little space after, they shall eyther be compelled to alter and chaunge or wyth repentaunt mindes, beare and suffer the same vnpacientlye. The seconde is called the kynde Demonstratiue, consistinge eyther in prayse or dispraise: And the thyrde kynde is that whiche in Iudgementes is exercysed, and this fallethe oute into Accusacion and defence.

But many cities now a days are noseled in an ill error, because eyther Lawyers are altogether ignorannte of pleadig causes, or rather becausse light disposed brablers, as the auncient wryters dyd cal them, do pleade and handle matters onelye for lucre sake bablingly, and therevpon delayinge Suites, make the same to hange in strife and barpaunce very longe, whiche thinge in Cities is verye daungerous: for pryuye grudges and hatred breedeth discorde amonge Citizens.

The noble personnes among the Venetians do pleade causes.

Amonge the *Venetians*, whose common wealthe is for Iustice, Gouernment, Wealth, and nobilitie of the Cytizens, accoumpted not onelye throughout all Italye, but also throughe out all the worlde moste famous and excellent: the most learned persons of all others, in the arte of oratorie, & such as by come of a noble race, do pleade, & handle theyre causes: by whyche meanes throughe contynuall exercise, they doe attayne to that perfection

that

that verye manye of theym proue cunninge and eloquente men in their common weale.

Poetes are to bee mayntayned in a Cyttye, and to bee made famous aswell wyth honour, as wyth prayse: whiche Persons surelye oughte to bee moste cherysshed and welcomed vnto all men, aswell for the rarytye of theym, (for nothing in all ages of man can bee founde more rare, then a good Poet) as also for the abundaunce of their wit, and theyr deuine Nature, neyther shall Poetes be exiled from a good Cyttye, whatsoeuer *Plato* shall saye, sithens they are well knowen to bee verye profytable vnto theyr Countrye: For, what learninge hathe Grammar in ye contayned, wythout the pertractation of Poetes? The Elegancye or Fyneneſſe of words, the proprietye of the Tounge, the sweete translations or Metaphors, the lybertye of Speache and Sentences, whyche doe beautyfye the Orations, as it were with certayne Starres werr they not inuented onelye by Poetes, and aptlye placed and dystyngushed by theym, in theyr ryghte places.

Poetes necessarye in a cõmõ Weale.

Socrates the Phyloſopher was wont to saye, it smallie fancied or lyked hym, to beholde the secretes of Nature, and to neglecte the reason and order of mannes lyfe: for what profiteth it vs to searche oute certayne hydden Secretes of Nature, to measure the starres and skyes in our myndes, yf wee knowe not oure selues, and neglecte the reason or order whyche oughte to gouerne oure appetyte, and whereby wee dyffer frome bruite Beastes.

What maye bee more vyle or fylthye then to see a man that is well learned, to bee with Lust enflamed, furyous, or Angry, Couetous, or vnsaciable wythoute Measure insomuche the more he hath, the more he seemes to lacke, surelye vnto suche a man that hapneth, whych vnto *Thales* ỳ philosypher, one of ỳ seuen sages, hapned: for he on a

tyme

tyme in the night season walking abroade dyd behold the heauens very earnestly, by meanes whereof he fell into a dytche, or pytte that was in hys waye where hee went, whereat he cryed out: a certayne olde wife lookinge out at her wyndowe, and hearinge him cry, asked hym what he went about to doe, that he so fell into the pytte, where vppon he aunswered, that hys meaninge was to beholde the heauenly planets: but the old woman smyling sayde, thou seest not those thinges whych are before thyne eyes, and yet wilt thou seeke to knowe heauenly matters?

The Oracle at *Delphos* (whych they saye was fixed before the doores of the Temple) ought to be prefixed before all mennes eyes, which desire to be right wise: whiche is *Knowe thy selfe*: for he knoweth not himselfe which dothe not knowe how to vse the vertue of his mynde, whiche is broken or shaken with feare, which doth aduaunce himself beyonde measure in reioysinge, who is inflamed wyth couetousnes, tormented with lustes: agaynst whych euylles Philosophie armeth vs, and doth not onely plucke vp the rootes, but also euerye little string or fibre of perturbations. To this philosophie will euery good Cytizen endeuour himselfe, that desireth to profite not onlye himselfe and his, but hys natiue countrye also.

Philosophye. Philosophy teacheth vs throughlye that Iustice is it, whiche containeth and keepeth together humane society: wythout the whych there can neyther cytty, neyther yet any house be rightly gouerned: For shee perswadeth vs to vse and enioy our owne right, and not to iniury any man, to lyue contente with our own goods, and to abstayn, not onelye oure handes, but also our eyes from other mennes goodes.

The knowledge of Philosophye is not onely pleasaunt vnto Cytizens, but also to Kynges, Princes, and gouernours, and doth much auayle in thenterprise of greate or waighty matters: for Philip of *Macedonie* when newes was brought hym, that his sonne *Alexander* was borne,

hee

hee dyrected hys letters vnto *Aristotle* sayinge: that hee gaue hartye thanckes to the Goods, not only for that hee had a Sonne borne, but because yt was his fortune to be borne in the tyme of *Aristotle*, of whome vndoubtedlye he hoped hee shoulde bee instructed, & that hee should proue a Sonne bothe worthye for hym, and the succession of hys Crowne: and therefore so sone as thys hys Sonne could speake, he gaue charge that hee shoulde be brought vppe at the becke or commaundement of *Aristotle*, committing him in his lustye greene age vnto his charge to be further trayned in disciplines, & learning: and when hys maister *Aristotle* by reason of sickenesse, could not well attende & followe hym in hys warres, he resigned hys rowme vnto *Calysthenes* hys scholar, that he might euer bee at hand & readye with the Kynge, and further him in the studyes of Philosophye.

Pericles who had done so manye famous Exployctes amongst the Atheniens, had for his Scholemaister *Anaxagoras*, whose precepts he is reported verye often to haue put in vse, not onelye in cyuill and domesticall, but also in forreyne and warlike affayres, wherein hee beinge studiouslye bent to take paynes, and hearinge that *Anaxagoras* beinge weary of hys longe lyfe wente about to famyth hymselfe to death, with all expedicion came to him and as a peticioner with prayer and teares desired hym, that if he had no mynde or ioye to liue vnto hymselfe: that yet at least hee would liue for *Pericles* sake, whose conference and Counsell in matters tendinge to the Common weale, hee greatly wyshed to haue.

Iulius Cæsar was a man moste exquisite in all kinde of learninge, and enriched all the best learned men in hys tyme with rewardes, and promotions: By whose example also, *Octauius Augustus* retayned *Athenodorus* as hys Scholemaister in Philosophie, a man as learned as anye in his time.

Prayse of Iulius Cæsar his bountie towardes learning and learned men.

The Frenchemen which are called *Celtæ* affyrme that

The first inuention of philosophy amōg the Frenchmen.

they whom they called in their mother tongue *Druydes*, were the fyrst inuentors of philosophie: for these persons, inhabiting the woodes: not onelye in contemplation, but also in life shewed themselues precise philosophers, & disputed many things of vertue, and of the immortall God, verye godlye: and helde opinion, that death was no other thinge, then a certayne flittinge vnto a better & more lastinge lyfe: who being induced with that perswasiō, fought valiantly and without feare against their enemies, thinckinge that man altogether a dasterde and foole, whyche feared death: sithens euen forthwith they should by death passe into a farre better lyfe.

Wee haue alreadye tolde that firste especiallye the cyuyll man must laboure to furnishe his mynde withe disciplines, and studies of good Artes: for the excellencye of the mynde, dothe not onely helpe the bodye, but also maketh it mosse readye to the atchieuinge of all and euerye greate laboure: for there can no body be strong and healthye enoughe, when the mynde languysheth: for in the warres wee do often see that some little men and small of stature do fight wyth a good courage, and those which are bigger, to be verye cowardes: and therfore it is better to helpe and fortifye the mynde with vertue, and wisdome, if wee desire to haue the right strength of the bodye.

Corporal exercise.

The exercise of mennes bodye is altogether coumpted necessarye: for Slouthe dothe dull the bodye and maketh men geeuen to too much tenderneſſe, but industrye or laboure dothe strengthen the body, and maketh men more lustye and stronge.

Hard bringing vp of youth profitable.

For the *Lacedæmonians* nourished their children in the country, & vsed to wrastle naked, to thend they mighte accustome themselues, the better to endure trauel & labors: They lodged abrode vnder the open ayre, aswel in tyme of cold, as in tyme of heate, and hardened themselues in the dust, in running, shoting, wrastling, casting, and leaping. To set before valiaunt persons & stout warriours, ỹ swete

delight

delights of boyes and gyrles, seemes to me no other thing thē to weaken strength & to haue all vertue in contempt & derision. Let childzen therfore bee so exercised, that they may accustome themselues to take paynes & labour, but yet not in outragious sauagenes: for as industrye and honeste exercise doth strengthen the bodie, and make it more apt vnto labour and trauayle: so too much exercise, & continuall trauell, doth breake, cut of, and shorten a mannes dayes, with vntymely olde age. *Aristotle* witnesse the that with such kynde of toyle, the grouth of the bodye is hyndered, and the members wrenched and disfashioned. *Celsus* sayth that we see many times men of greate toyle and labour, to become in the ende, most crooked and benommed in their members.

Continual toyling.

Iulius Cæsar commaunded that young warriors should not be trayned or taught neyther in the schole, nor by maisters of defēce, but at home, in theyr dwelling houses, by ꝑ horsemen and Senators, skilfull in feates of armes, in wrastlinge, runninge, casting of the balle: in whych practises, he lyked wel to haue them exercised, yea, he thought it wolde doe them much good to be enured in swimminge, leapinge, skirmishing and making a shewe of a right battayle in deede: for they that accustome themselues to suche exercises, come more chearfully, and with better courage to the warres, & are both in body and mynd strōger.

The commaundement of Iulius Cæsar for trayning of yonge soldiers.

Epaminondas the most worthy captayn of the *Thebanes*, enured himselfe much with wrastling, not so much to get a corporal strength, as for the agilitye & nimblenes of his body: also *Plato* ꝑ greteste of al philosophers exercised wrastling wt *Aristo Argiuus*, by reasō wherof it is sayd ꝑ for ꝑ notable habite of his body, hee was called *Plato*: for afore he was called *Aristocles*, after ꝑ name of his graundsyre.

Epaminondas, exercised wrastleling.

The *Lacedæmonians* cōmaunded their womē to wrastle among thē, & affied in mariage, the mā cōqueror wt the woman cōquerelle together: ꝑ the issue afterward coming of strong and lusty parents, should be likewise stronger thē others: but this custome is altogether to be refused & re-

Women by nature more tymerous and fearefull then men.

Let women therfore keepe theym selues at home and applye their huswifelye affayres, whome nature hath made and ordayned weake and fearfull persons, that by meanes of feare and awe they myght be the fitter and apter to keepe home.

Let first the wytte of a chylde be nourishte and trayned vnto wysedome, if it may bee: whyche of all other thinges is the best and chiefest: let hym be exercysed in bodye but yet so as be hynder not thereby the gyftes and dexteritye of hys wytte: for it is hard for a chylde to be exercysed in bodye and mynde together at one tyme, whereof there would be diligent consideration and reason had: for they neede bodylye exercyse but a small whyle, least they should bee therewythe to muche delighted: for they are made thereby more dull of capacitie, and scarcely knowe howe to prouide for theim selues: as wee reade of *Milo Crotoniates* of whome it is reported that he dyd all things beyond the strength and habilitye of man, & often winning the best game and victorie, was crowned: and kyllinge an oxe with one blowe of his Fyste, sacrifysed hym, but at length trustinge to muche to hys strength, he came to a most miserable death and doleful ende: for espyinge a tree where into wedges were dryuen, but not yet clouen asonder, and laughinge at the slouth of them that had lefte the same tree, in that case so remaynynge, bee went about to teare it asonder withe his handes, but when the wedges were lowsed and fallen out, and that the tree came together again to his proper nature, he was taken fast by ꝑ armes in that desert & vnable to help out himselfe, was deuoured of wylde beastes, and fowles of the ayre.

Exãple of the greate strength of Mylo.

Miserable end of Mylo

Polydamas an other famous Champion enteringe on a tyme into a certayne Caue, and willing to sit downe, his frowarde fortune was suche, that the vpper parte of the Caue ouer theym opened wide, and fell down vpon them. *Polidamas* therefore goinge aboute withe his armes and shoulders, to beare vp the waight, all his companions,

Example of polydamas,

leauing

leauinge him distressed fledde away, and hee therby fondlye enforced to make for hymselfe hys graue there not without the greate derision of all the companye.

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Secundi libri.

FINIS.

A morall Methode

THE THIRDE BOOKE

entreateth of the election, & choise of Magistrates, in a cõmon weale: of moral examples in furderinge their offices and duties in seuerall: Of discussing and redressing causes in variance: of reforming enormities and controuersies: of needeful ordinaunces: of accustomed watches for defẽce & sauegarde, of the citty or countrye: of carefull prouision for corne and victualles, needfull aswell in peace as in warres for the publique sustentation.

ALL gouernaunce of a cõmon weale, consisteth in the description and choyse of Magystrates, wythoute whose authoritye, wysedome, and diligence, a cyttye cannot flourisshe nor be: For amongest People that lyue in Freedome, there is nothing well done without magistrates: for euen as a shyp wythout a Pylot can neuer bee brought into the hauen of tranquillity: and as an hoast of men, without a captain, is alwayes in great daunger, & scarcely euer winneth the victory: in like maner ciuil societie semeth, to be obiected and layd open vnto Fortune: neyther can be in any parte quiet or fortunate, except (by the authority, and councell of the Magistrates) it be gouerned. And yet notwithstãdinge multitude of Magistrates troubleth and perturbeth the order of a Cyttye. For as in seafaring and warlike busines, regarde must be had that there bee but fewe commaunders, & many obayers: so also iudge it meete and requisite to be obserued in the state of a cõmonweale:

Howe a common weale prospereth vvithout Magistrates.

Auncient wryters commend the *Massilians* whose common weale for order sake and equitye, they prefer before all

all others: for they had Senators, in number (as *Strabo* maketh mention) 600. of whome fyftene euery yeare by turnes bore greatest aucthoritye: and of those fyftene, also three were apointed to decide laws, & matters in cõtrouersy, & these few only, gouerned the ciuil society very wel but in time of warres & vproares, these *Massilians* did chose suche Generalles and Princes as were sufficient and wel able to take some waygbtye charge of warres in hande: for verye manye Phisicians being brought vnto one sicke person, do rather stryue amonge theym selues by waye of vayne ostentation: then minister those thinges which may heale, or remedye the paciente: And dyuers counselles or opinions in greatest daũgers do rather hazard and endamage a matter then helpe it: these and many others, are to be considered in the ordayninge of Magistrates.

Who be mete persons for to be made magistrates in a common vveale.

But this agayne and againe, I deeme worthye to bee spoken, that very well it is, and moste meete, that the administration of the Common weale shoulde bee committed vnto olde men, whyche both by reason of their age, & experience in matters haue moste skyll: for true is that sentence of *Plato*, and which of *Cicero* is holden as it were for an oracle,

> *Blessed maye that man be coumpted, to whome euen in his olde age, it hath chaunced, to obtayne both wysdom and true opinions.*

Fovver special regardes to be taken in mans lyfe.

Crantor, an ordynary scholar of *Xenocrates*, and moste excellent Philosopher, reckoninge the state of mans lyfe, and descypheringe by most wyse deuision our actions, & cogitacions: affirmed that the fyrste part of our lyfe is to bee imployed vnto vertue: the second to good health: the thirde to honest pleasure: and the fowerth as be thoughte vnto ryches. For doubtles, nothing that good or pleasant is, can happen vnto vs without vertue: next vnto thys (as the best cõpanion of vertue) be deemed to be good health:

for

For scarcely can it be well wyth vs in oure mynde, when it is euill with oure bodie: and scarcelye can the griefe of the bodye bee without the griefe of the mynde: Moreouer hee that is in good healthe, enioyeth freer mynde, and is not frustrate of the quietnes of hys wytte, and senses: next vnto these twayne, let honest pleasure come as a third cõpaignion, which then doubtlesse is chiefe and best, when the minde enioyeth it selfe: it measureth all thinges vnto the tranquillitye and pleasures of the mynde, it is not delyghted wyth the tickling of the sences, or allurementes of the bodye, but in contemplation of greate and waighty matters, whyche surelye bee the foode of an honeste minde, well furnished with liberall studies: That fourth parte whyth hath society with the former three, although it be the least of all, yet when wee respect humaine necessitie, and when wee consider, that man hath neede of meat, drincke, apparel, & dwelling house, it cannot bee accoũpted otherwise then necessary: For as *Callymachus* saith, wythout ryches vertue aduaunceth no man: and that vertue without ryches, doth little or nothing adorn any mã. *Theognis* the true Poet, testifieth, that for feare of pouerty we goe headlong euen into the Seas: for penury nowe & then vrgeth excellent persons, and compelleth them to attempt very harde enterprises. *Plautus* the most pleasãt among comical Poetes, for want and scarsitie of victuals, placed himselfe for hyre to grynd in a Mylle, and there so often as he had any vacant tyme from his worcke, hee accustomed himselfe to write Comedies and to sell theim.

Cassius Seuerus also an excellente Oratour, hauinge cõtinued for the space of. xxv. yeares a banished man, died in great penurie, scarcelye hauinge ragges wherewith to couer his priuities. And *Valerius* the compaignion in office of *Brutus* dyed so poore, that hee was buried at the cõmon costes of the Cyttye: And the legitimate sonne of kinge *Perseus* (as *Marcellinus* writeth) after his miserable calamity and frowning fortune, was glad to practize

Pinchinge pouertye putteth men to their shiftes

the

the Smythes occupation to get his lyuing withall: these cogitacions ought oftentimes to be reuolued in mynde of all theym that will rightlye constitute humane societye.

They that take vpon theym the office of a Magistrate: let them knowe that they beare a maiestie of the common weale, and let them forget themselues so longe to be pryuate persons, as they execute or vse the administration of a publique office: let the magistrates euermore haue before their eyes, the lawes of the common weale, whereunto in all pointes, let them know that obedience is to be geuē. For as the lawes do gouerne the magistrates: so the magistrates oughte to gouerne the people. For true is that Prouerbe pronounced by *Tully*:

A Magistrate

The Magistrate is lawe, that doth speake and dispute:
But the Law is a Magistrate silent and mute.

For this happeneth in a good common weale, that hee whiche modestlye obeyeth, may seeme worthy, and meete somtyme to beare authority: and it is expedient, that he whiche obayeth the Lawes, shoulde hope to beare rule in tyme to come: and hee that is in office, and hath Iurisdiction or gouernaunce, let him thinke that not long after, it may come to passe that he must obay others: let the first retaine vertues, as their guides, to direct and rule them: without the whiche nothinge is well donne, whereof the firste and principall is Iustice, whiche layeth the foundation of humane societie & conteyneth in it godlines: whyche *Sextus Empiricus* teacheth to bee the knowledge of worshipping God aright: For this vertue especially respecteth the deuyne reuerence, mysteries and ceremonies: without the which nothinge orderlye, neyther any thing holilye or godly can bee done in a common weale.

He that obeyeth vvel ruleth vvell

Vertues are the guydes of ciuill magistrates.

Iustice.

It is the nature of Iustice to hurt no man, nor to iniurye any: to geeue to euery man that whyche is hys ryght: to rewarde those that deserue well, wyth fauour, prayse,

Duties of Iustice.

and giftes, and those that deserue euil, with losses, reproch shame, punishementes, and death: but moreouer a righte excellent duetye of Iustice is in word and deede to keepe fayth & promise: for nothinge can be more filthye, in those whyche beare sway in the publique weale: then to breake promyse whiche reproche doubtlesse is neuer blotted out wyth oblition, as wee reade of the *Carthaginians*, whom *Ennius* the Poet called faythlesse, or leaguebreakers, because they started from their leagues and promises: whyche (certes) was the onely and chiefest cause, why that citye which (for the Empyre of the whole worlde) contended so many yeares wyth the People of Rome, (the chief vanquishers of all other Nacions) was destroyed.

To kepe touch and performe promise is cómendable.

Prudence

Prudence the second vertue consisteth in choyse, or discerninge of good and badde and is the ryngleader or chief of other vertues: insomuche that *Apollophanes* a worthye Philosopher said: that this onelye was the vertue vppon whome all the rest were attendaunt. Temperaunce (notwythstandinge) helpeth very muche, and so shineth in all our doynges: that she is thought to bee the moderatrix or directresse thereof, this is shee whyche wyth so long continued prayse, hath extolled that worthye sentence of *Solon*, warning vs to doe: *Nothinge to muche.*

Temperance

The Children of the *Persians* were carefully taught, & trayned to learne temperance, whych to thend they should the more diligently obserue, their rulers appointed & commaunded certayne of the discreetest olde men in their cyties, to bee presente at their daylye exercises: to thende they fearing the lookes and graue countenaunces of their auncient ouerséers, might in all their doinges be gouerned and directed by modestye & temperance to frame thē selues thereafter in al thinges, from time to tyme, accordingly. Constancie must also be therwith lyncked and annexed, namely that whyche is of wordes and deedes coūpted the moste faythfull obseruer or keeper: Shée causeth that the secretes of the publike weale be kept close and in

An example of Temperance.

Constancye.

silence

ſilence, then the whiche there can be no better thinge: for whiche vertue the *Perſians* eſpecially are prayſed, whyche doe vſe to kepe all their ſecretes moſt faythfully: neyther feare, neither hope, nor any other fair promiſe, can allure them to vtter anye ſecret matter, that is to bee concealed: for they haue an olde leſſon or rule among them, whereby they are aduertiſed: that ſilence is kept w̄ daunger of life. Neyther are they thought able to atchieue, any great exployte, which are not able to bridle their tongues, whiche member nature hath ordayned, as the eaſieſt of al others: thereby to ſhow that ſilence is no hard vertue to be kept & obſerued:

Perſians truſty in keping coūcell.

Ariſtotle ſayth ẏ there be thre things neceſſary in a Magiſtrate: firſte that he embrace Juſtice & the other vertues, thereby to direct all thoſe things which are profitable for the common weale: Nexte, that hee doe loue the preſent ſtate of his cittye, and beinge therewith content enterpriſe to doe nothing eyther newe fangled or ſtraunge, but to go that waye whiche their auncеſtors haue inſtituted: and whiche by the treadinge Steppes of others, was worne playne: for deſire of newe alterations and thinges, is rather wont to wearye and weaken the common weale: then to make the ſame better by any meanes.

Thre things neceſſary in a magiſtrate.

1.

2.

Thirdly that magiſtrates ſhould haue power of ẏ people, ſufficient to execute thoſe thinges, which appertayne to their function, or office: whiche thinge doubtleſſe cauſeth that they themſelues, with greater courage bear out their office: and thoſe agayne, ſhall more diligently obaye them, vnto whom obeyſance is to be geeuen. 3.

All Magiſtrates which haue the decidinge of lawes, & whyche do exerciſe any kynde of reuenge or puniſhment againſt offenders, ought as ſome holde opinion to be ſtrāgers: for as they themſelues ſay: priuate grudges, enimities, & hatred do ariſe amōgſt citizens, when as one citizē puniſheth another: but on the other part, felow citizens, are more tractable & prone to ſhewe fauour one towardes

other then as if the matter were in the dealinge of a stran ger: by the reason whereof many people of the Italians, haue accustomed to sende for suche Magistrates from o-ther places: but to be short, I am of opinion, that in a wel gouerned common weale, wherin all men bee obedient to the lawes and customes of their countrye: citizen Magi-strates are far better, and gouerne muche more honoura-blye then straungers: which thing doubtlesse, not onelye by the Romains, Carthaginians, Athenians, and Lacede-monians: but by diuers others, which commit all offices vnto their Citizens, may be perceyued: but especiallye it is euident by the noble common weale of the Uenetians, wherein there is no place geuen to Straungers: and yet notwithstandinge, there is neyther seuerity wanting, nor by such maner of iudgements, any discordes do arise, ney-ther any seditions, or enimities growe.

Venetians admyt no no strãger to beare rule amõg thẽ

And one thinge concerninge that common weale of the Uenetians, wee may well say, which I cannot remember that euer I read or sawe elswhere: for the order of that ci-tie neuer swarued & altered from the order & state wherin by the first founders thereof it was constituted and orday-ned: but hath alwaies remayned in one state of gouern-ment immutable: for they that builded that citty deuised amongest themselues, and their Magistrates, a rewarde (as it were) for their trauayles: and this inheritance left they vnto theyr posteritye, that no Alien or denizen, borne in any other coũtry shuld be admitted, to beare any office or auctority amongest them: and so sithens that tyme, perpetually hath this order bene obserued, almost a thou-sand yeares, vntill this daye: wherefore the posteritye of them that first builded the citty, haue alwayes bene rulers in the same city, & were called *Senators*, *Seigniors*, fathers and nobles: and all the rest Commoners.

Venetians alte nothing afore time ordayned by their prede cessors and el-ders.

Seigniorye of Venice.

The chiefe and principall care for the common weale consisteth in Senators, whych ought to haue auctority, aswell in tyme of warres, as in tyme of peace: vnto whom also

alſo from the other magiſtrates men may appeale: theſe Senatoꝛs alſo (accoꝛding to the inſtitution of *Lycurgus*) are the keepers and reformers of the lawes, and as often as nede ſhall require do conſtitute newe, by certayn learned lawyers of their Seignioꝛye: foꝛ it is a verye harde thinge to compaſſe and comprehend all thinges in wꝛytē lawes: foꝛ newe affayꝛes oftentimes happen and occurre through the diſoꝛder of men, foꝛ redꝛeſſe whereof new lawes are expedient, and all thinges daply pꝛoue, woꝛſe and woꝛſe, whych by the lawes are to bee punished.

Manquellinge novv a commō practiſe in Solon his dayes not thought that ſuch could bee.

Solon the Philoſopher decreed no law againſt Parricides and murtheꝛꝛs: being demaunded, why he had omitted the ſame: he aunſwered, that he neuer thought, that any ſuche miſchieuous and wicked act, could be committed oꝛ done by any man.

All oꝛder of the Publike weale, and all Counſell, ought in doubtfull caſes and aduerſe affayꝛes, to come from the Senatoꝛs, & counſelloꝛs, who be called fathers of theyꝛ country, becauſe euen as parentes pꝛouyde of dutye foꝛ their children, ſo ought the Senatoꝛs foꝛ their citizens and countrymē: let theſe graue Councelloꝛs (as it were growe together into one body, which ſeeth wyth manye eyes, woꝛketh with many handes, and ſtandeth vpon many feete, which thinge, ſurely bꝛingeth to paſſe that ꝧ common weale is farre better gouerned, then the ſtate of one Pꝛince, foꝛ hee alone, foꝛecaſteth and foꝛeſeeth what he can: yet cannot hee meaſure, and compaſſe all thinges by counſell and reaſon: foꝛ no one moꝛtall man hathe the knowledge of all thinges: And he is counted and reputed foꝛ the wyſeſte, who is ignoꝛaunte in feweſt matters: foꝛ many learned, wiſe, and graue men, laying their heades and deuiſes together, do foꝛeſee all thinges, nothing is to theym obſcure, nothing happeneth ſodayn & vnlooked foꝛ, nothing new, nothing ſtrauge, nothig great, oꝛ wōderful.

A good counſellor the father of his coūtrye

There if the Senatoꝛs theymſelues doe treſpaſſe, they ſeeme to offend moꝛe by their example, then by the crime it ſelfe.

Example of Superiors is a president for inferiors to folovv

it selfe: for all the inferiors, do folowe their steppes, and thincke themselues scarcely to transgresse, when as they se any Senatour guylty of the same crymne: let them therfore be firme and constant, not bayne and lyinge, neyther geuen to filthy lucre: let them not onely banishe away all filthy vsury, but also all gayne, wherein may bee anye suspicion of filthynes.

Vsury.

Publius Scipio Nasica vnto whom the sirname of a good man, was by the senate bestowed: who dyd so many notable exploytes for his country, on a certayne tyme standig in ỳ electiõ for ỳ office of *AEdileshippe*, toke a certayn coũtrey felowe by his hard & rough hand, & feeling the same so hard, demaunded of him in spoyte, whether hee vsed to walke vpon his feete, or vpon his hands: which thing was so greuously taken of the country felow, & other standers by, that it came to the knowledge of the cõmon people, & was ỳ cause ỳ this excellẽt Senator *Scipio* had a repulse in his sute: forasmuch as all the country people, thought thẽ selues hereby to be had in derisiõ & made flouting stocks.

Vndecente gesture in a Senator put to reproche.

Very litle or nothing do lawes and institucions profite except they be groũded vpon ỳ sacred scriptures, the author wherof is almighty god himselfe: for if those auncẽt people which knew not god, but were led with certain superstitions, and false religion did nothing apertayning to the cõmon weale, without auctority of their high bishops: what behoueth vs chriſtiãs to do, whych only embrace the true religion & which haue Christ ỳ son of God for the foũder & author of our religion: surely we ought to endeuor with al care & diligẽce, ỳ nothing be done, nothing thought vpon, or deuised, except god his assistance, ayd & good wyll be thereto fauourable, & that al our purposes, misteries or deuises, tend to his honor & glory, by whom we attain life euerlasting: therfore gods deuine operations ought to go before the ordinaunces of man: according to this sayinge: *Imprimis venerare Deos*, firste aboue al thinges worshyp God. The senators charge and duties therfore shalbe diligently to watch & care, that no lawes be established and

God is the principall author and fautour of al good lavves and procedinges.

That thing vvhich to the honour and praise of god is begon contnueth in force and felicity.

enacted

enacted, but such as be consonant and agreeable to Gods good pleasure, for if he be ayding and well pleased w̄ oure christian rites, & ordinaunces, there can nothing go amisse in the common wealth, neither can ther any sinister thing or mishap chaūce herein.

At the beginning, ẏ gouernance of humane affaires was in ẏ autority of ẏ bishops: & kings beinge initiate in sacred lore, toke charge, both of deuine & humane things, neither thought they ẏ any'mā could possibly rule wel, which was ignorāt in sacred matters & estraūged from god: therfore in those dayes either the priests thēselues did gouerne, or els, the princes did attēpt nothīg w̄out their aduise & auctority: for *Romulus* at ẏ first foundaciō & beginning of Rome, called the bishop whiche had charge in the temples, & holy ceremonies by the names of kings, & reigning as it were w̄ a mutual or associat auctority, wold haue him to be the keper of ẏ laws & traditiōs of their country: & not wythout cause, for the Prelates being inspired w̄ the holy ghost, do teach & instruct vs thyroughly in the preceptes of holynes and immortality.

Byshoppes named kinges by Romulus.

There are two times to bee considered vpon: the one of peace, ẏ other of warres: & as in time of warres circūspect care for peace may not be omitted: so in time of peace such things ought to be forsene which in time of warres maye serue & be most necessary: for surely it is a point of greate wisoom, to hastē & haue in redines, in ẏ time of peace, such things: which fear of warres shuld cōpel vs spedely to haue in vse & to ocupie: both these cōsideratiōs therfore must be carefully looked to, by thē ẏ beare chief rule & auctority, ẏ with warlike municions they may defēd, & mainteine ẏ swete ioyes of peace: & that ẏ municiōs of warres be not preiudiciall or hinderyng to ẏ maintenance of peace: for the Romaines, ẏ most excellent of all others, vnto the chiefest office appointed two Cōsulls: ẏ one to deale in thaffayres for the cities behoofe, & the other in warlike matters: for finally should it preuaile thē to lyue at rest & quietnes wīn the walles of the city, if in the fields al were in hurlyburly & vprore,

Times to be cōsidered in peace and Warre.

Time of peace

Time of War.

& vprore, or if their enemies were not kept backe frō inuading their terretories: & on the other part to hold warres abrode, and at home to want aduise or councel, were very daungerous.

Tyme doth alter both the ꝑson and his ꝓꝑtye.

That promocions, or offices should be perpetual in the common weale, I thincke it to be perrillous: for the long continuaunce thereof, doth often alter mennes maners: & now and then geueth theym occasion of tyrannous practizes, as wee may well see of *Iulius Cæsar*, who being continual Dictator, inuaded the Publique weale: For yt is muche more harder in prosperity to obserue modestie, thē in aduersitie, and therfore, that custome is to be commended and allowed, wherby two Consulles be appointed for no longer space then one yeare. The Consull ought diligently to bee carefull in musteringe for the warres, that in euery precinct, the wealthe, nomber, and age be regarded: for those souldiers obey vnwillinglye, & are negligēt in their dutie, whiche are forced beyonde their abilitye, & power: and very ill fareth it with that armie whiche thinkes themselues without iust occasion forced to warfare & when this Consull hath mustered souldiers, let him not suffer them to harbor or lodge in their wyntringe places, vnder Couert, but let theym lodge abroade in the open fielde, yea if it were in a peaceable tyme: and let him teache them, ẏ souldiers are of no more force then theyr captaynes and Generalle: for all men affirme that this sentence of *Homer* is true:

More safer is an hoast of Hartes, a Lyon being guyde:
Then is an Hoast of Lyons which an Hart haue on their side.

Ouerseers of the lawes.

Speciall consideration and care must bee had for the due administring and execution of Lawes in a good Common weale, which surely causeth, that men do lyue without violence or Iniurye: for it is impossible for a multitude to lyue without stryfe, specially in that City where all thinges be common: albeit we say it is much better for euery man to haue his owne: for we see that fieldes which are in

common

common amongest manye, lye vntylled, and growe full of brambles & bryers: but priuate fieldes, farre more neate and trimlye husbanded: but priuate patrimonies bee they whiche make men diligent & attendant, & measure herein is to be prescribed vnto them, least richemen iniope al, and ỹ poorer and weaker sort cleane thrust out and defrauded.

Varro sayth, that variaunce at the beginninge toke hys first name of contencion for lymits or boũds: which thing in deede *Virgil* seemeth to affirme where he sayth:

Limes agro positus, litem vt discerneret arvis.

There was set and ordayned a lymyt or bound,
To auoyde contention in fallowed grounde.

For now and then contention ariseth for debarringe or stopping ỹ course of raine water or of other matters whiche daylye happen in Fyeldes, or elles in the Cyttyes, when men doe argue and stande in contencion, for the walles of their houses: for droppinges of their house eues and of Rafters not fastened: and oftentimes it comes to passe that amongest merchauntes, contentions may arise and speciallye when many are found dayne, & double dealers, with whome a man must not deale in secrete meanes, but before some arbitrators, or conuenient witnesses, and Judges: Suche manner of strykes whereby enimitye and hartburninges may growe, ought straightwayes by cõposition to be determined and ended, that ỹ citizens may be brought into concorde, which then is brought to passe whẽ euery man enioyes his own, obteyneth his due right, all variaunce or dissention set aparte.

Occasions of contentions for small matters amonges Citizens to be reformed.

Upon holydayes and suche dayes as are appointed eyther for Fayres or feastes, it shalbe good to staye prosecucion of causes and matters iudiciall, whych thinge also ys customablye frequented in any publique ioy or mourning.

A *Prætor* amõgest the Romaines was so called, because hee bare rule: and hee was called *Vrbanus* amongest the

citizens administred the lawes: It was in the power of ẏ *Prætor* to minister both publike & priuate auctthority, therfore it isnedeful ẏ the *Prætors* be men of vpright dealing, & well deseruing of the publique weale: who oughte in no parte to be ignoraunt of the lawes and customes of the cõmon state, but playnlye and absolutely to bee so skilfull in lawes both publike and priuate, that nothing appeare vnto them eyther obscure or doubtful: Let good and conscionable lawyers pleade causes, and handle nothinge with craft and maleengine: but let them speake all things trulye, and let them not leaue a lye vnpunished: for there ought to be nothing in a comõ weale so vncorrupt & syncere, as iudgement: which surely is more often corrupted with speach then w̃ mony: wherupon very wel said *Cicero*, ẏ hee vnderstode not why he ẏ corupteth iudgemẽt with mony, should be worthy of punishmẽt: & he that corrupts it with eloquẽce, should haue prayse: to me (sayth he) it rather appeareth ẏ he offendeth more in this point, which rather w̃ speache then w̃ mony, corrupteth the iudge: because no mã with mony can corrupt a wise iudge, but with smothe and dissẽbling speach any man may: for how are ẏ corrupters of causes worthy to be hated, and how greuously are they to be punished? for they doe sell the patronage of Iustice & forsake the best office in the world, whiche is, defendinge right: somtime they pynch & get mony from the defendãt, sometyme agayn poule the plaintife, and in ẏ ende delude them both: and many do very il, which take on theim the patronage or office of defẽding ẏ client, & do handle ẏ same so coldly, ẏ they differ smallye from forgers of causes: for true is the sentence of *Cicero* which sayth: perhaps men cã not be defended w̃out dispraise, & that negligentlye to bee defended, coulde not bee without great wickednes.

A Prętor.

Lavvyers.

Corruption of Iudgement.

Let lawyers therfore & patrones of causes pleade their clients causes, and that for dutie sake, ẏ they may deserue wel of the citizens, & let their rewarde bee, to haue a good report in al mens mouthes, & let it not be lawful for them if by any meanes it may, ẏ they take any bribe or gyft, for handlyng

Vnsaiiable lavvyers.

handling the cause, as it was established by the law called *Cincia*: for a filthy thing it is and not worthy any man, to set out the tongue, for gayne or lucre in pleading causes. Surely *Antipho Rhamnusius* (as antiquity reporteth) was the first ẏ euer for defence of any cause toke reward, whose example long times after, the *Grecias*, & *Latines*, folowed: saying that the merchandize of the tong, was of far other sort, then any other merchandize whatsoeuer: but the Romaines from whom all good examples, aswel of honestie, as of vertue, are to be taken, by the law *Cincia* prescribed an order vnto the couetousnes of orators, and pleaders of causes, & because yonge men puffed vp with hope of gain, should not be permitted negligẽtly to handle matters, at the request of *Appius Claudius*, they suffered the lawe *Cincia* to be moderated.

Bribery is a filthye thinge.

Good exãples, geuen by the Romaines.

Vnto those Magistrates which wee authorize to haue the administring of iustice, we rather ought to impart som stãding fée or publike stipẽd, then priuate gain: least therby the iudgementes of the lawe be set to porte sale, whych thing no doubt is preiuditiall vnto al people: and for the most part the cõmon decay of the publike weale: whether the iudgement be corrupted or whether ells any thing be done by deceipt or violence, by them whych be iudges, and haue iurisdiction in executing Justice.

Consideratiõs vpon the trauels of the magistrates.

Ouerséers of shamfastnes & modesty, are so necessarye in a cõmon weale, that without them, litle or nothing do other magistrates preuaile: for there cannot be a more comodious thig thẽ to haue people well manered, with ciuility: wherfore ẏ most graueſt persons & most approued in vertu (som out of euery seueral tribe or ward) are herunto to be admitted: which may reforme & redresse the maners of the city, lest thereby there crepe in pieuesh customes, pernicious both to the people & to ẏ whole city: therfore great diligẽce is to be required, ẏ the maners of ẏ people be most syncere & perfect: & then again, ẏ no pernicious custom do inuade the citizens, then the which ther can nothing in cities happen worse: & lastly ẏ the religion & ceremonial orders, which haue bene by our elders wel established be also wel obserued.

Tribes or Wards in a cyte.

The Romaines called the Censure of shamefastnes & modesty, the Lady and Maistres of discipline,: and theym whyche bore offices, in the cōmon weale, they called Cēsors, which tooke their name of iudging, comptrolling, cōstituting, or commaunding: of what effect it is, very wel to discharge and execute this office, euen hereby may wee perceyue, in that this office or dignytye of Censor, dydde geeue the sirname vnto *Cato Censorius*, who very wel executed this same function: The Infamy which wee call the Censors checke, was farre more greuouslye taken of ẏ Romaines, then any other punishmente, and sometimes ẏ rygour thereof stretched against the magistrates: for the Senators were cast out of the Senate house, by the Censors checke, as wee reade of *Lucius Antonius*, because hee put away from him a yōg Virgine whom he had maried: none of his frendes beinge called to councell: so reade we also of *Lucius Flaminius*, who caused certayne to be put to death, for looking lasciuiouslye at certayne women, whom they loued: also *Caius Fabricius* the Censor, remoued out of the Senate house *Publius Cornelius* a noble personage, because he broughte ten poundes worthe of plate to a certayne banquet. Fat and corpulente Souldyers, perfumed with oyntment, wer noted with this checke, their horses taken from theym, and they dismissed and discharged out of the hoaste.

Censor vvas he vvhich coulde by his Wisdōe and knovvlege execute his office viz. to constitute, cōmaūd & comptrolle.

Infamy of Cēsors.

Senators discharged for excesse riot.

In iudgementes of lyfe and deathe, greate care & hede ought to be had: for cyuil hatreds and priuye conspiracies then burst forth vnto reuenge, whēas the magistrates haue power of life and deathe: and therfore the Romaines, when they had appointed their Consulls vnto whom they committed, the speciall charge, of the common weale: yet was it not lawful for theym to execute or put to death anye citizen of Rome, and trulye not withoute good cause: for nothinge more procurethe the distruction of the weale publike, then the punishement by death, of those whiche specially haue but smally delt with others, or whose crymes or

mes or offences haue not so farre come to lighte as by no meanes they can or may be denayed, or elles that they bee aparantly knowne vnto all men: for that worketh a perpetuall iniurye, when suspicion of innocencye remaynethe in the peoples heades, of theym whyche throughe false or rashe iudgement are sayde to be vniustly condempned, for innocencye caryeth with it great fauour, and the rumour or mutteringe of the people stryketh feare into thē which haue condempned innocentes: And moreouer the sorre of conscience bringes to passe, that suche persons, as haue so ouerreached themselues, are thought neuer to lyue in securitye, but appoint vnto themselues, present punishmēt before their eyes: Howe notable is that sentence of *Iulius Cæsar*, whyche with often repeticions he would vse?

Innocentes vvrongfully cō dempned make people repyne at magistrates.

A wretched companion of olde age truelye,
Is the memorye of auncient crueltye.

And therfore, they that must geeue sentence and iudgement, of the lyfe and spyrite of man, whych is parte of the worlde, and hathe a mynde by the speciall gyfte of God, partakinge of reason, and filleth vp the number of the lyuinge, ought carefully to aduise and consult wyth deliberation and not to do any thynge wyth rashe iudgemente, because suche a Deede once done, cannot bee called backe agayne.

Alexander kinge of Macedonie vnto his mother *Olympias*, vrginge hym greatlye, to kyll a certayne guyltlesse person, requestinge the kinges consent thereto, in consideration of that nyne monethes space whyche shee bore hym in hyr wombe: most gently thus answered. O good mother, rather request or demaund any other reward at my handes: for mannes lyfe cannot bee acquited or recompēsed wyth any good turne, or benefit.

Pitty in the harte of Alexander tovvardes one that vvas like to haue bene put to death.

Sabacus, moreouer kinge of the Egiptians (a man for godlynes and religion famous) as *Diodorus Siculus* maketh

keth mencion did so muche abhorre sheding of bloud, that he commaunded the conuict and condempned persons, being bound with chaynes, to become slaues for the city, rather then that they should be put to death: doubtlesse true is that tragicall sentence, and in harte and mynde, euermore to bee recited, and recorded of them, which do beare rule. viz.

death redemed by thraldome.

VVhat euer thou be that doest rule or raygne:
From sheding bloud, leane and abstayne.

There was wonte to bee amongest the Romaynes eyght kindes of punishmẽts, that is to say: amerciamẽts, banishment, imprisonmẽt, whipping, recõpence of asmuch for trespas made, reproche, bondage, & death: yet seldome w̃ death did the Romaines accustome to pursue, except against Parrycides, murtherers, rebels, and such like wicked persõs, whose lyues was not to be spared. But nowe an ill custome hathe taken place, ỹ theeues euen for small matters are executed by death, & so they take awaye that whiche can neuer be restored vnto mortall men.

Eight speciall kindes of punishmentes vsed by the Romanes.

The great consideratiõ for the comon treasure in a cõmon weale ought to be had: for treasures, & money are compted the sinewes or strengthes of the citty, without ỹ whyche it can scarcely be preserued: for these thinges do beautifye a city, in prosperity, & bring ready succour in aduersity: wherfore there are to be ordained treasurers, which may haue the auctority of receyuing, keeping, & layinge out of the common treasure: these men ought to be graue and bright, and ought to abstayn theyr hands from publique & priuate corruption: not vnhoneſt troublesom persons, but which can diligently measure the rate of fortune, & of suche persons, as they shal haue to deale withal, and besides this let thẽ take heede that publicanes and tollers, extorte nothinge by violence or craftye collusion from theym ouer whom they haue rule: for that kynde of people

people is odious, and nowe and then, by reason of theyr vnhonest dealing, & lewd demeanour, prouoketh and stirreth the common people to desire of newfanglenes.

In leuyinge of Tributes and Taxacions, treasurers ought to bee gentle and seeldome tymes to doe it: for it greueth the cittizens, to haue their proper priuate stock and substance imployde on publique affayres: excepte in great distres, or tyme of daunger, for then all good cityzens doe of their owne good accorde fall in consideration hereof, & willing be contributory to payment: but if they maye spare their priuate substaunce, they lyue better contented: & if there be no other remedy, but to do otherwise, then ought they to entreate all men gentlye, thereby the more easely to rayse their tributes, and winne the peoples hartes withall: for farre more is the good will of citizens to be esteemed then any masse of substance of treasures. Leuying of tributes.

Noble was the sayinge of *Alexander* the great, when on a tyme being demaunded, where he had his treasures laid vp, aunswered: he had layd them vp with his fryndes, & welwillers, and that they were wel & warely kept to hys vse there: for good wyl & good loue is the lady, both of a mannes owne substaunce, and of another mannes also: *Tyberius Cæsar* also vnto his Lieutenauntes, receyuers, or treasurers, whiche counselled him to exacte trybute of his prouinces and countries, answered, ẏ it was the parte of a good shepeheard, to sheare his shepe: & not to flea thē. Alexanders friendes vvere his tresures.

The tyhat be auctorised to coyn mony, ought to obay the commaundement of the treasurer, least they forge or embase the coyne: or mingle it with any other base mettall, for it is moste daungerous to make counterfeicte Monye, of lesse value then it shoulde bee: the consideration wherof is most diligētly to be ouersene of the treasurers: som do suppose ẏ the word *Moneta* is called so properly, because it geueth warning, ẏ no deceipte in mony, stamp or weight be made or vsed, but ẏ name of *Pecunia*, as *Varro* sayth toke his beguning of *Pecus*: for ẏ riches & substāce of men in tymes past consisted in *Pecoribus*: ẏ is to saye, in Cattel. Moneta à monenda. Pecunia à Pecore.

And

And this thinge doth *Lucius Columella* testifye to bee true, and *Ouid. libro 5. Fastorũ*, maketh mention where he saith:

The first earthlye treasures of men.

All other Instrumentes as yet, were not for vse out founde,
The wealthy, Cattle did possesse, or els greate store of grounde.
And hereupon were richmen calde, hereof hath mony name:
But now vnlawfully eche man, to seeke for wealth doth frame.

Cambyses the father of *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*, beinge asked by what meanes cities might bee kepte in best sauegar, aunswered: if they whiche keepe the same cities doe thincke they can neuer be wary enoughe of their enempe. The saying of this most wise kinge, is alwais to be reuolued of them, which beare aucthority in a common weale: for what auayleth armour? what munitions? what are ꝑ walles annd towers profiting vnto them which negligẽtlye keepe and looke to their watches and wardes? for wee see verye manye cities by negligence of their watches, and scoutes, (with the sodayn comming of their enemies) put to the spoyle and sacked: and moreouer as touchinge night watches, to whome citizens trustinge, and sleeping soundly, haue not knowen any thinge of the comminge of their enemie, vntil the scaling ladders haue bene set vp to their walles, and they throwne downe headlong, from the tops of their turrets.

Sauegarde of a cittye.

Night Watche

Spargapyses the sonne of *Tomyris* queene of *Scythia*, beinge together wyth all his hoast of men drunckе with wyne, and slumbring or slepy, were in that estate altogether destroyed: and doubtlesse, no Scoutes, nor watches, can more safelye or diligentlye bee exercised, then of theym which beare the chiefest aucthority, whether the same bee in the Tents, or within the walles, certes it is scarce safe enoughe for the Cytizens to sleepe soundlye when they shall perceyue the chiefe ouerseers of the watchmen to be wantinge: and a Captayne seemeth to commyt his hoast to the hazard of fortune, so long as he sleepeth.

Scoutes, Watchers and Warders.

Alexander

Alexander of Macedonie hath left vs a good lesso for this matter, who, because he wold not be deceiued by meanes of sleepe, vsed as he lay in his bed to stretch out his arme, (hauing vnder the same a brasen bolle or bason standing) & to hold in his hand a balle of siluer, to thintent that whē sleepe had wearied and taken away the force of his fingers: hearinge the fall of the siluer ball into the bolle or bason hee shoulde streight way by the noyse & sounde therof, awake agayn out of sleepe: surely this lesson I thinck that most excellent king learned of the Cranes which do vse a nightly watch among themselues alwayes, and because they would not be decepued or betrayde by any mishap in their sleepe: they stand vpon one leg holdinge a lytle stone in the other, which when it falleth from them by hitting the other standing leg, or making a noyse with lighting on the grounde, they are thereby awaked oute of their sleepe.

A Wise example of Alexander in vvatchinge.

Euen so with no lesse care ought they to watch, whych heare auctority in a common weale, that in such maner they may set in order their watches and keepe the holdes of their cittye, that the common weale susteyne no discommodity nor dishonour therby neyther in tyme of warres, neyther yet in tyme of peace: doubtles *Socrates* in *Plato* vsed great diligence & care, in ỳ choyse of such as should kepe watch and ward: and surelye the better & more wel their citizens be, the more fitter persons are they to kepe watche and warde: which otherwise we see falleth out in rude or barbarous cityes, wherein labourers, worckemen, porters, and pore men are put to scoutes, and watch: but the richer men cocker themselues and lyue at ease within their owne houses: Sometimes watches are committed in charge vnto the Souldiers only, which nowe and then being wearied wyth their dayly trauayle, eyther watche rechlesly, or ells sleepe so soundly, that they are not to be awaked with any noyse at all: as it chanced vnto those Romaines which kept theyr Capitol, when it was besie-

Who are meetest for vvatchchers & Warders.

ged by the Frenchemen: whiche Romaines had not they bene awaked out of their sleepe by the gagling of a goose, had bene vtterlye vndone, and the common wealth of the Latines, for euer extinguished.

Gaglinge of a goose saued Rome from beinge taken.

Let there bee placed ordrilye vppon the Walles in places fitte for that purpose, two warders whyche muste haue greuen theym a Watchewoorde, leaste they bee deceyued: and lett theym bee called vppon and punished whyche sleepe in their watche tyme: Let the Scoutes in the daye tyme watche before the Gates, on the towers, at loupe holes, or at other chosen places, leaste that a multitude of guestes vnlooked for, come as it were betweene theym and home, and take awaye booties, carrye awaye Captyues and inuade the Cittye: wyth no lesse care also let the night watches bee placed in the cyttye, then vpon the walles; for moste myschieuous deedes are rather put in practyse by Nyghte then by Daye. Theeues, Harlottes, Cutthroates, and robbers are no lesse to bee restrayned, then Publique Enemies, agaynste whome doubtlesse needefull it is that the Ouerseeers of the Watche, shoulde extende Punnishmente wyth greate seueritye, yt they wyll righteye prouyde for the good estate of theyr Cyttye: For woorste of all fareth it wyth that cytye wher in Harlots and nyght Theeues, raunginge in the same bee not sufficientlye mette wythall.

Night watchers charged.

It was lawfull amonge the Romaynes by the Lawe of Twelue Tables to kyll a nyght thiefe: So hathe ye also bene lawfull to do, to an Adulterer taken wyth the manner, and also to a woman committing Fornication: These notwythstandinge I iudge are not to bee permytted, but in suche manner to bee handled, that for feare of punnishmente, all men keepe theymselues at home from doynge euyll abroade: For bee louethe to doe nothinge that is good or ryghte whyche shonneth daye lyghte, and bee that stealeth in lurckynge manner, is afrayde leaste

som

some shoulde see hym and bewraye hym, and so thync-keth the nighte moze safer foz him then the day tyme.

It was not wont onely to bee the charge of theym that had the ouersighte of the Watches amongeste the Ro-maynes to exercise watches & wardes vppon the walles, but also it was enioyned that they shoulde bee vigilant a-gaynste all nighte Trauelers: whereby the Publique quietnes of the cyttye mighte bee preserued & maynte-ned: moreouer these and suche lyke watches doe helpe in many other matters, and especiallye in auoydyng ca-sualties of Fyer, whiche surely are seene to be most dan-gerous in cyeties: foz both do they quenche casuall chan-ces of fyer wythin the Cyttye happeninge, and also of-ten tymes do catche in a tryppe subtyll Fyzers of houses, whose offence therein is to bee accoumpted capitall and wozthye of deathe: and theym also whiche negligentlye rake vp theyz Fyers, they ought to punishe by whippinge and cudgellinge.

Night vvatch-ers preuente and vvithstand many daunge-rous chaunces in a Cyttye.

Dinocrates an excellente Architecte of Macedonie ha-uinge promised vnto *Alexander* the greate, to rayse vppe the Hyll called *ATHON* in *THRACIA*, of a mō-strous heighte, vnto the similitude and resemblaunce of a man, whose lefte hande shoulde suppozte the walles of a moste large Cyttye, and the righte hande shoulde holde a bowlle, whyche shoulde receyue the flouddes descending from the Hyll, and poure theym into the Sea: *Alexan-der* (being delighted wyth the deuise of this figure) asked hym whether there were any fieldes neare vnto it to nou-rishe and mainteyne the Cyttye wyth Coyne and victual, yea, oz no? *DINOCRATES* aunswered: that yt must haue Succour and relefe from beyonde the Seas: The kynge sayd that suche a deuyse was not to be allow-ed at all: foz (sayth he) as the infant lately boyne into the woylde can neyther lyue noz prosper wythoute the mylke of the Nurse: So neyther can a Cittye bee sustayned oz

cherished without the fruites of the fieldes.

The example of this noble kinge *ALEXANDER* ought to exhort all builders of cities, to appoint the situacion therof in plentiful & fruiteful places, and that they whych haue charge ouer the people do especially prouide corne, and victuals for their sustentacion: for smally should the defence and sauegarde of the citty preuayle, to small purpose should the lawes, rytes, and order of a city serue, if the people shoulde sterue for honger: for what can bee more daungerous among that people, whom neyther armour, magistrates, neyther Gods Justice, nor mannes Lawes, neyther anye shame can keepe in streight order, then dearth and famine: for verye aptly hereunto saythe *Lucanus* the Poet.

Al princes or magistrates may here ymytate the care of Alexander for his subiects in prouidinge corne and victuels.

Nescit plebs Ieiuna timere.

Let therfore first and principall care be for competent prouision of victuall, namely bread corne, the vse wherof is seene to be farre more necessary, then any other thinge and let there bee made three Purueyghours, or principall victuallers, to haue the ouersighte, and surueighe of all victual, and make prouision of the same accordingly: let the corne be kept for common vse, eyther in deepe trenches, cleane fãned from the chaffe, and couered ouer, whereby for seuen yeares store, it may bee well reserued, or in broode graners, with lyttle wyndowes, on the north ende thereof, wherein for three yeares space it may be preserued from the mothe, wyuell and all noysome vermin: and let them haue a speciall care that there be no corne or grayne carryed forthe of the citye, but in great store and plenty thereof, least it become muskye: but let it rather be brought in by exchaunge, and rechaunge made from ỹ countries neare adioyninge, for it were farre better to haue store enoughe at home sufficiently not only to serue them and their country: but also if neede were to helpe our

Good order for corne to be kept.

distres-

distressed neighbours: And let theym set a rate or price of things, least they being bestowed at the wyl of them that shall sell theym, they bee rated and esteemed, as it shall seeme good vnto them at all tymes.

Regarde also must be had that not with a little care & diligence the temples and churches of the immortall god (which with suche great costes and charges are edefied, & whiche make the cities, specially therby farre more gorgeous) haue suche officers and ouerseers for the gouernment thereof, leaste otherwise by negligence and slouthe they falle to ruine or decay: wherfore *AEdiles* are to bee appointed, which thereupon were called by the Romaines, by that name *AEdiles*, because (as *Varro* sayth) they had the ouersighte of sacred and priuate houses: It was also the charge of the same Officers, amongest the Romaines, to see that the common streetes, and highwayes, should bee well leuelled and made euen, and that ỹ same, should be kept in decent order, and that therupon no buildinge should be erected and set, which eyther might hynder the commodity or comlynes of the same: also they had a charge enioyned them, to see that the water conduites, common sewers, and sinckes, should be clensed and scoured, and that the bridges should bee repayred and amended: moreouer, there is nothinge in a free cyttye whyche dothe more breede enuye or hatred, then to see certayne fellow citizens in a shorte tyme enryched with the comon mony, or treasure whereas the same coulde not suffice them all.

Good order for the church

Good order for streetes and highvvayes.

Good order for conduites and common Sevvers.

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The

A morall Methode

THE FOVRTH BOKE

entreatinge of mutuall Societye in Mariage: mayntenaunce of housekeeping: ordering of a housholde, wyth morall examples of necessary duties in eache degree.

Prayse of Adrianus Cęsar.

ADRIANVS Cæsar was a Pryncе of excellente wytte, and exquisite learninge: for often tymes he both wrote, spake, heard others speake, and talked wyth hys frendes at once, & would do all this at one tyme: he was also greatelye geeuen to Poetrye, and a fauourer of all good Sciences: in Arithmetique, Geometrye, Musicke, and Paynтynge, most skilfull: he often was wont to say that the Common weale is so to bee regarded of theym whiche beare rule in the same, that euerye one shoulde knowe how that he had to doe for the common weale and not for his owne proper and priuate estate.

Phocions modest aunswer in refusinge giftes and treasures sent hym.

Phocion the Athenian (when as abundance of treasures was sent vnto hym of gyft, from Philip king of Macedonie) would not take any of it at all: and to the kinges embassadors exhorting him that if he himselfe could easelye lacke the same treasures, yet at the least, to take it for his childrens vse: for whom (sayde they) it was verye harde beinge in such penury and distresse as they were, to maintaine their fathers dignitye: he aunswered, if my children do resemble and bee lyke to me their father in condicion, this lyttle plott of grounde whych hath brought & mayntayned me to this dignitye, shall also suffice to bringe vp and mainteyn them: but if they doe not resemble me, sure I will not mayntaine their ryotte with these Treasures and ryches.

In no place at these dayes is founde that lande whiche

of it

of it owne frutefulneſſe nouriſheth the Cyclopes without tyllage and ſowing: neyther is that *Erithrea* of *Luſitania* whyche men ſaye *Gerion* ſometimes poſſeſſed, beinge of ſo rancke, and fruitefull ſoyle, that when once the corne is caſt vpon ẏ groũd, the new ſprouting ſeede eftſones bringethe forthe newe blades, and beareth Seauen or rather more harueſtes one after another: neyther floweth in our coaſtes that floud *Nylus*, whiche of it ſelfe bringeth forth an Herbe called *Lotos*, whereof men in thoſe partes doe make bread to eate, and whereof wyth ſuch greedynes (as *Homer* ſayth) they doe eate, that they altogether forget ẏ ordering of their houſholde affayres: wherfore men muſt prouyde to haue poſſeſſion of Landes, that prouiſion of victualles may be reſerued from tyme to tyme.

Lotos, ſome doe ſuppoſe to be a tree.

Marcus Curius hath by his wyſdom taught vs to haue greate ſtore of publique landes: and that priuate menne ſhoulde haue ſo much thereof, as to the meyntenynge of their lyfe and lyuinge, ſhoulde bee neceſſarye: for when as hee oute of his tryumphes had adiudged innumerable acres of Lande to the cõmon weale, to euerye manne in ſeuerall hee onelye alotted Fowertye, neyther reſerued he anye greater portion thereof vnto hymſelfe then the reſte had: Hee was blamed of certayne perſons bycauſe he had geeuen himſelfe the leaſte parte, and had entyteled the common weale to the moſte parte: hee ſayde vnto them, that no man ought to thincke that grounde to be a little or vnſufficiente whiche ſhoulde ſuffice his owne vſe and his families.

Poſſeſſion of landes in common vveale.

As it behoueth ciuill Societye to haue fewe to beare auethoritye, and manye to obey, ſo in houſholde affayres there ought to bee one whiche ſhoulde haue chiefe rule, & bee to bee auncient in yeares, and all the reſidue to obay. And as in a citye by due obedience to lawes, the magiſtrate is ſayde to gouerne others luſtelye, ſo in Commaundynge and obayinge, wee haue accuſtomed to gouerne domeſti-

An ouerſeer to order houſhol de affayres.

domesticall dealinges, let them whiche beare auctoritye or office in a common weale, know that the lawes do gouerne and are aboue them, and let them that are the chief of an household follow the rule of a good husband or housholder: There is therfore a good order in some cities, ꝑ none maye bee chosen into the Senate which hath not the charge of house and family.

Housholders.

He that is the Gouernour of an household, ought alwayes to remember that hee hath sometymes bene a seruaunt, that hee do rather correct offences wyth woordes, then wyth stripes, and had rather that his family should feare his severitye and Justice, then tremble at his crueltye: for it goeth worste of all with that familye whyche rather wyth feare then wyth zeale, goeth aboute their busines. And furthermore in great trauayles, and in executinge waighty offices or duties, it behoueth the housholder to shewe himselfe, the first man, officious, and diligent: for the Inferiours will be ashamed of slouth & sluggishenes, when they shall see the elder, to be diligent and paynefull: so on the other parte, he shal beware and take heede, that hee doe nothing filthyly, whiche his household may haue in suspicion: for they doe farre more offende by example, whithe beare auctority, then in committing ꝑ offence.

Such masters such familye & seruauntes.

Amongest the auncient in times past, there was suche multitude of Slaues, that they by violence thruste the freemen, out of certain cities, and now & then rebellyously receiued & wtstode their maisters cōming homewards by force of arms: for we reade that ꝑ people of the cōtrye of *Scythia* were a nation almost inuincible, for they dyd not onelye wythstand *Darius* king of *Persia* from enterpryling vpon their coastes & borders: but also put him to a byle and shamefull flyghte: moreouer they ouerthrew the hoastes of Alexander, they established the Empyre of ꝑ *Parthians*, and people of *Bactrians*, they had *Asia* tributarye vnto theym. 1500. yeares, from whych country, when as these

these Scythians returned wyth conquest in theyr thirde expedicion (for they had bene eyghte yeares absente from their wyues) they were at the first dryuen backe, and forcyblie repulsed from comminge home, by theyr owne seruants and bondmen. For their wyues werped wyth long loking for their husbandes, newe maried themselues to their bondslaues whiche were left at home to keepe theyr Cattle: whyche slaues not without slaughter and bloudshed, wythstoode and would not suffer their maisters at their return to come home into their own cõtries & houses: And although in the ende the victorye fell to theyr maysters, yet notwythstandinge they bickered and skyrmished together so doubtfully, that hard it was to discern who in the ende would get the vpper hande: but at ꝑ last the bondmen beinge vtterlye vanquisht, were hanged vpon gibbets, and the women stryken with remorse of their guylty and filthy consciences, dispatched and murthered themselues, partly by the halter and partly wt the sword: Amongst the notorious warres of the Romaynes, is not also the seruile warres recoumpted and reckoned, which tooke the name of Bondmen vanquished?

But sometimes slaues haue shewed forth Examples of most tryed fayth and trustines, as *Caius Plotius Plancus* witnesseth, for he being by the *Triumuiri* proscript, & appointed, to haue bene executed, for feare hyd himselfe priuelye, in a Ferme nere *Salerne*, when the Souldiers that were sent to search him out, hauinge by the sauour, of his Perfumes smelled him out, caught his seruaunts, who beinge muche and longe tyme cruellentreated, and tormẽted, would not disclose theyr maister. *Plancus* pytyinge and hauinge compassion on the fidelitye of his owne seruaũtes, came forthe, amongest the myddest of them, & offered his throate into the handes of the souldiers, thereby to delyuer his seruauntes from present tormentes. Remorse of the maister towardes his seruants fidelity.

Marcus Antonius also an excellent orator, being accused of incest, had experience in the fidelity of his seruaunt

who beinge brought vnto iudgement, euen he which bore the Lanterne, to that vngracious act, beinge also tormẽted, scourged, rackte, withe burninge plates scholched and halfe burned to death, would neuer declare his maysters incest, wherunto he was priuye, and of councel: So haue there bene also others in like manner approued: but the trustines of seruants to their maisters is not alwayes to be assayed.

The freeman which hath vnder him the gouernmẽt of seruants, ought specially to thincke that they are men, & not brute beastes, and that he should not rage with cruelty against them, in scourging, euyll entreating, or chayning of them (for by scourging their hartes are made obdurate & hardned) nether do they any thing but with euil wyl: but the master ought to deale more gently wᵗ thẽ, exacting their daily taskes, & that not without mercy: their diligence & good endeuour is to be commended, whereby they may apply themselues wᵗ cherefulnes in their labors and busines: They ought also to haue suche foode and sustenance geeuen theym whyche maye strengthen their bodyes wythout curyositye and costlynes: Let theyr Apparell bee suche as may couer their bodies decentlye in Somer, and defend theym from colde and rayne in wynter: for Seruauntes pynched wyth colde, ouer awed with feare, & hongerstarued, cannot performe any manner of office or dutie of seruice.

Hovv the mayster ought to entreate his seruauntes.

Wee muste also take heede, least throughe straynte lookinge to our seruaunts they become desperate: for now & then they are geeuen to bee cruell, agaynste those that be weaker then theymselues: and the blowes or strypes of the mayster are somerymes reuenged vppon their childrẽ and wyues.

A vvicked exãple of a vvicked seruaunt.

Wee haue yet freshe in our memory a Seruaunte of a wicked wytte and cruell meaninge: this felow had a very rygorous mayster, that often cudgelled and bet him cruelly, wherat this his seruant being angry, and not knowinge

ing how to be reuenged vpon hys mayster, on a tyme caught two infantes (which were his sayd maisters childrē) the one of a yeares age, the other of two yeares, and with them ascendinge vp into a certayne highe Turret, called his mayster, and wylled him to take his younge babes vp into his lap: whom so sone as he had squatted to the grou̇d hee cast himselfe headlong after theym, because he wold not come alyue into the daunger of his mayster agayne.

Bondmen enthralled and endaungered vnto vs by the lawe, by reason they are to vs indebted, are more gently to be entreated, tyll they haue payde their dutie: for we ought to remember that so sone as they haue recompensed their debt with their bodily traueyle, that they are free borne, and not of seruile condicion, as are those franchised bondmen (who although freed) yet after fredome, do owe some seruice vnto vs: wherfore we must accoumpt theim as Iournymen or labourers hyred, and we must in al thinges vse them as freemen with curtesye, wee must require their worcke and allow also reasonable wages, and truly pay the same to them: for to haue their good report it shal muche profite whensoeuer wee shall bee dryuen to hyre other labourers. Welvsinge of hyred seruaun tes.

Of al societies or felowships, there is none more agreable vnto nature, then ꝑ society of man & woman: for ther is engraffed by nature in euerye liuinge creature a loue & zeale to their like of kynd, and a reason of conseruation by coniunction of male and female: for there can be no wylde beaste so cruel, so solitary, & alone wādring, which in their time do not seke, a mate of their own kind & condicion for procreatiō sake: seing thē there is no such society or felowship more according to nature, then that of the male and female: it behoues vs to wryte of matrimoniall cōiunctiō especially when as citizens do matche theymselues wyth Citizens in mariage by a long cōtinued good wil, & so reconcile & make attonement betwene grudging enemies.

As we reade of *IVLIVS CAESAR* and *Pompeius*,

whose affinitye so long as it flourished, and subdue and represse ciuyll discorde, and reduced all the ciuill warres, vnto vnitye and concorde.

Exãple of matrimony.

For had not the rauished virgins of *Sabina* appeased ỹ myndes of their Parentes and husbandes by the Law of matrimonye, the common weale of the Romaynes, had bene vtterlye destroyed: very necessary therfore is it to intreate of maryage and naturall amitye: for man doth not onely marye and take a wyfe for procreation sake, but also, to haue a companion of lyfe, wyth whom hee may liue together, and participate ether fortune, both prosperity & aduersitye: for hee that is ledde by reason, doth seeke for ỹ commodities of his lyfe, neyther seeth he that he can sufficientlye prouide for his owne estate, excepte hee take a wyfe: therfore man whẽ he hath prouided him of a dwellinge house taketh a wyfe, that he may procreate childrẽ, to the ende to lyue more commodiouslye, and the better beare the chaunces of eyther fortune.

Trade of lyuinge.

It is especiallye necessarye for a man to seeke a trade whereby to lyue, that hee maye be the better prouided for in hys olde age and sickenesse: wherefore it is eyther requisite for him to exercise husbandrie, or seafaring, or som other kinde of honeste trades, thereby to get conueniente staye whereof to lyue.

Therfore our carefull mother, dame nature, parent of humane kynde, hath ordayned wedlocke, to the ende that not onely the most pleasaunt, but also the most profitable societye of lyfe, might thereby be put in vre: therefore as *Xenophon* hath left in writinge in his boke of household affayres, the deuine prouidence of God made women to bee more fearefull creatures then men, because the same feare and awe, in the woman should frame her the better to kepe home and to be diligente: for awe & feare help much to the diligence of keepinge, and naturall effeminacye or tendernesse hath deliuered vnto theim trades, & faculties wherein they may be exercised, and finde theimselues occupied

cupied euen within their owne houses: furthermore forasmuche as meate drincke and clothe, must needes be had, & cared for, not in euery place openlye, or in wylde woodes but at home vnder the roofe of the house, and in the inner partes of the same, it hath bene necessarye for men to bee occupied abrode in company and assemblies of men, wher they meeting together may deuise meanes, by labour & industrye to get suche thinges as beinge brought home, shoulde be layde vp in store, in some conuenient place of ꝑ house: the charge of dispensation or bestowing whereof, is more conuenient for the woman then for the man.

The man to bringe in the maintenaunce of housekeping by trauayl abroade.

Aristotle did verye well assigne the cares of all suche matters as are to be done abrode vnto men, and of things to be done at home vnto women: and he thincketh it very vncomelye & not fitting, that women should deale in matters which are to bee done abroade, as also for men to haue the orderinge and disposinge of thinges wythin doores, for all helpes and defences of mannes lyfe are more easily procured and gotten, by mariage, then by singlehood.

The vvoman to saue & kepe that is brought and to ouersee it at home.

We ought to restore that vnto nature which wee haue borowed, as to geeue vnto others lyfe, whych our parentes haue geeuen vnto vs, by reason whereof we obtayne, that our chyldren should restore that vnto vs in our extreme age and weakenes, whiche they haue receyued of vs, when they were not able to helpe theymselues: let theym I saye nourish and maincteyn vs, in oure decrepicie, when we leane vpon our staffe and be weake and feble: euen as we brought vp them in their tender age, when we sustayned and embraced them in our armes, when they first learned to creepe: and by these meanes, the interchaunge of nature is perpetuallie fulfilled, and that which it cannot do in the simple generalitye is cõserued and kept in spece and kynde.

Nature in the childe oughte to be careful for cõfortinge the parentes in olde age.

Furthermore, the discommodities happninge in our old age, (which surelye are innumerable) and the manyfolde kindes of diseases which do vexe and torment barren olde

age

age and as it were by conspiracies fall vppon olde men at once: by what other reason maye they bee suffered, or by what cõfort elis maye they be mitigated or allwaged, but by ỹ hope & helpe which we haue or ought to haue in our children: for far lesse greuous do these euils seme, which happen vnto the father striken into extreme age, when he himselfe declining toward decay, seeth his sonnes growe lustye of body, & euery day more strong: then those things which vnto a man wythout children do happen, which seeleth and perceyueth the powers both of his body & mynd to decaye, and therwithall at once al hope of helpe, & posteritye to come to an ende: but death it selfe (whiche vnto all men is most greuous) doth bring somwhat the lesse griefe vnto them: who knowing themselues to be mortal persons, & that they can lyue no longer then humane cõdicion or state wyll sufferthem, do behold their childrẽ by them begotten, resembling them, to be called by their proper names, wherby they are as it were reserued stil aliue in the fame and reporte of men, euen after their discease: For they that departe this worlde, leauing behynde them no chyldren, do carrye wyth theym the ruine of their race & offpringe, and deserue cupl of the common weale, yea of mankinde also are they wrapped in perpetuall oblivion, neyther leaue they any steppe or imitacion of their lyfe afterwardes amongest men at any tyme.

Comfortable to haue chyldren.

Death. to theym that leaue children behinde them is lesse greuous

Death of the that vvant Issue brought in oblivion.

Therfore I think best for a ciupl man to take vnto him a wyfe, not onelye for necessities sake: but also to thende they maye lyue wyth more Pleasure and profite, wyth whome a thanckefull, pleasaunt, and acceptable societye of lyfe, must be framed, not to fulfill the lust of the flesshe, but to procreate and encrease Issue, thereby to replenish the cyupll common weale, whyche in deede is the proper respecte and dutie of mariage.

Causes necessarye vvhy the ciuill man should mary a Wyfe.

AElius Commodus Verus Emperoure of Rome, is sayd to haue aunswered his wife verye notablye, when as shee

seemed

seemed to bee offended at the filthinesse of his Lyfe, and complayned of his forreyn pleasures: Suffer me, wyfe (sayth he) by other women to exercise my Luste and sensualitye, for a wyfe is the name of Dygnytye, and not of pleasure.

Socrates the Philosopher when hee had longe tyme and muche suffered his firste wyfe *XANTIPPA* to be bothe angrye and churlishe againste him (to *Alcibiades* meruaylinge that he coulde beare wyth suche a shrewde, and bytter woman, and not banishe her oute of his house) made this aunswere: that in sufferinge suche a Vixen in her behauiour at home: he enured himselfe the better to putt vp those Iniuries and reproches whiche were done to him abroade by others: For *Socrates* had two wyues at one tyme the better thereby to perfourme throughlye the effect of pacience.

Socrates and his curst Wyfe.

METELLVS NVMIDICVS the greate and eloquente Orator: whyle hee was Censor discoursinge of the Maryage of Wyues in his Oration, spake these woordes: My Lordes if wee coulde be wythout wiues we shoulde all easelye lacke and be wythout that molestation: but because Nature hath so ordayned, that neyther wyth theym can wee lyue commodiouslye, and without theim we cannot lyue at all: I thincke it better rather to prouyde for a perpetuall sauetye, then for a shorte or momentanye pleasure.

Metellus hys oracion cõcerninge mariage.

Whiche manifeste confession of the care and molestation of wyuing, was mysliked of many of the Cytizens of Rome, for they sayde that *METELLVS* the Censor whose purpose shoulde haue beene to exhorte the common people vnto Matrymonye) could not confesse or vtter any thinge touchinge the griefes and discommodities therof leaste in so doynge hee shoulde rather seeme to dissuade the People from Matrymonye, then exhorte theym thereunto: For so muche as almoste there is nothynge throughe-

throughoute the whole lyfe of man, can be founde, whych in euerye parte of it selfe is absolute and perfecte, that no stable amitye coulde bee founde, nor more aboundaunt in all dutie, & godlines, then in matrimony.

Example of husbande hys faythfull loue towardes hys Wyfe.

Tiberius Gracchus wyllingly & of his own accord saued and redeemed his wiues lyfe wyth his owne death, for he findynge at home, two snakes, in this sorte destyned, that vnlesse hee killed one of theim, hee and all his housholde shoulde perishe & dye, if he let the male escape, it shoulde then be his chaunce to escape alyue: but if the female, thē should his wyfe *Cornelia* escape alyue: hee so entierly loued his wife, and so much esteemed matrimony, that he rather chose to dye hymselfe, then to suruiue his wife.

Exãple of the Wyues fayth-ful loue tovv-ardes their husbandes.

The wyues of the *Mynias* haue lefte vs an example of admiration: for their husbandes beinge imprisonned by the Lacedemonians, and iudged to dye for conspiringe against the state, looked for present execution, according to the custome, in the night season: but their wyues makinge a pretence or excuse, to goe to speake vnto their husbandes, & take their last leaue, obteyned licence of the kepers to goe vnto them, where chaunginge their apparell and dissemblinge their sorowes, w̄ their heades couered, suffered their husbandes to departe, and gaue themselues to the death, to the end that they might deliuer and set at liberty their husbandes.

Exãple of tòo much cherish-ing & cock-ing of childrē

Moreouer the too much cherishing that *Augustus* vsed towardes his daughters, made theym more wanton and lasciuious, whereupon *Iulia*, when a certayne seuere and graue frende of hers, went about to perswade her to follow the example of her fathers frugalitye, she scornfullye aunswered: my father forgets that he is *Cæsar*, but I remember that I am *Cæsars* daughter: shee outraged so farre in dissolute lyuinge, that shee prostituted her body to all men: and when as men that knew well her filthy lyfe, meruayled how shee brought forth chyldren so lyke to *Agrippa* her husbande, seing shee had to doe wyth so manye

men

men: shee aunswered that she could lawfullye entertayne and admitte adulterers after that shee was greate wyth chylde by her husband: for seldome doth the woman kepe shamefastnes that hath once lost her chastity.

A shameleſſe aunſvvere of a ſhameles ſtrō pet.

There are some women whiche take pleasure to talke of their filthy demeanour, and declare the blemish or disease of theyr mynde and body wyth filthy speche, thereby to appeare more pleasantly conceyted vnto the worlde: as *Popilia* the daughter of *Marcus*, to a certayn man whych meruayled what should be the cause: that all beastes doe neuer admitt the male to couer theim, but at one seasons whē they woulde be made great with ponge, and women at all tymes desire the societye of man: shee aunswered: because, they are beastes.

Some Women delightinge in filthy talke declare the filthines of their poluted mynde.

But let the husband loke to it, that hee geeue no occasion of filthynes or offēce, vnto his wyfe: and let her take heede that shee do not speake any filthye thinge, at any tyme in the presence of her husband, wherein some men doe much offend, which allure their wyues wyth vncleanlynes of wordes and filthynes of speache vnto lust and concupiscence, and doe instructe theym in Fables, whereby they are made more readye to venerous dalliaunce, and inflamed with straunge lours: and the men nowe & then speake those thinges whyche are able ynough to enflame euen those women that be otherwise very cold affected.

The husbands vvordes levvd lye vttered corrupt the levvd disposition of the Wyfe.

Furthermore let the husbande, farre more diligentlye abstayn from hauing to doe with any other straunge person, if hee desire to haue a chaste wyfe: for no iniury doth more diminishe or sooner breake the holye society of maryage, then for the one partye, I will not say to be onelye takē in adultery, but also in any slender suspicion therof.

The Persians therefore very well dyd greuouslye punishe adulterye, to thentent that the societye of matrimonye might be made the more firme and stable.

Adultery sharpely punished by the Persians

The continency of the husbande for the moste part keepeth his wyfe in chastitye, and maketh the man himselfe

to be farre more commendable: *Lælius* the friende of *Scipio*, is counted the happier in this one respecte, that in all his lyfe tyme he had but the company of one onely wom̃ that is to say, his own wyfe, whom he had and no more: for there are very fewe wyues so modeste, and so louinge to their husbands, that they can willingly and patiently suffer & beare with their husbandes harlottes.

Women stomacke much to haue their husbandes kepe an harlot.

I remember that I haue reade (not without meruayllinge) of one woman euen *Tertia*, wife of the former *AEmilius* mother to *Cornelia*, who was of suche gentlenes, and pacience, that when shee knewe her husbande (being the conqueroure of Affrica) to be hotelye enamoured of her handmayd a beautiful piece, & knew wel that he vsed her too familiarly: shee alwayes dissembled the matter, least otherwise shee should accuse her husband (that most excellent Gentleman) of Intemperancye, and that whyche is more: she was so farre frō reuenge, ẏ when *AEmilius* was dead, shee sette her handmayde at lybertye, and freely placed her in maryage (to one that serued her husbande) wyth no small dowrye.

Surely a man shall fynde very fewe women in all the memorye of man, of this nature, that can suffer or beare wyth their Husbandes Strumpettes: therefore that good reason or argumente vsed by the lawyers, is to bee openlye fixed in the houses of men: wherein is geuen vs for precepte:

What euer Lawe a man woulde haue
an other to obserue:
From that let not hymselfe digresse,
nor once asyde to swerue.

For what is more reprochefull then for a man to bee condempned by that law whiche hee himselfe hath made, and to reprehende that in others, wherein himselfe lykewyse trespasseth: to mee therfore that auncient Lawe of

Solon his lavv for punishinge adultery.

Solon

Solon, seemes altogether vniuste: wherein is sayde that if the man take his wyfe in adultery, let him kyll her: but if shee take the Husbande in adulterye, lett her not once touche hym, with her finger: for once that Lawe beinge recited amongest a companye of matrones one of theym (curteously smylinge vppon the rest) sayd: I see playnly that Women were excluded oute of the councell of men when those lawes were ordayned: for if there had beene any woman there, they woulde neuer haue suffered thys Lawe to haue passed being so iniurious to our sexe.

Also that Lawe was vniuste whiche was had in vse amonge the Egiptians, as *DIODORVS* maketh mention: For is appointed the man taken in adulterye, to bee scourged or whipped: but the woman to haue her Nose slyt and disfigured, to the entent she might in that part be punished wherewith the face is mosse comly garnished to the sighte of the worlde: notwithstandinge in matters touchinge Mayntynge: there is nothynge more harder then to make a good choise, for maidens are brought vp at home within doores, and do verye seldome goe abroade to be seene: For the whiche cause it is almoste impossible for a man to searche out their Beauty, Manners, and Conuersation, whych matter surelye maketh men doubtful what to do: for it is a thinge of no small effecte, to marye a wyfe, and with her to frequente perpetuall Societye of Lyfe, whyche in all poyntes is vnknowen vnto hym at the firste.

An hard thing to chose a wyfe vvell.

The manners and conuersacions of Maydens cannot bee better ghessed at, and perceyued by any other reason, then by the similitude or lykenesse of their parentes: for it is verye lyke that of good Parentes, there can no euyll children be gotten: A chaste mother bringeth vp chaste daughters, and she that in harte neuer committed shame, will not wincke nor beare with any faulte of her daughter.

Good parents bring vp good chyldren.

All young men for the most part do desire to mary a fayre wyfe: but yet it is (by the opinion of *Theophrastus*) lesse griefe for a man to haue a foule, thē to kepe a fayre wyfe: For he thinkes that no thing is there safe, which al men do desire, because some one man doth entyse her by beautye, some by wysdome, and some through eloquence, and some by bounty and gyftes, and that whiche is assaulted in euery parte, is vanquished on some parte: This much doth Saynt *Ierome* discourse vpon, after the minde & opinion of the Philosopher *Theophrastus*.

Choyse of a Wyfe.

Ennius the Poet sayde that wee must marrye wyues, ỳ are of a sounde chastitye, and whyche are seene to bee of a portly fauour: *Aulus Gellius* expounded this sentence, & sheweth that those women be of portly fauour, which are neyther of the fayrest, not yet of the fowlest feature, but meane betweene both: whych mediocrity surelye is in al thinges best and chiefest: for this reason is sufficient to ỳ procreation of issue: for pleasaunt beautye in the womā helpeth muche, as in the men worthynes or dignitye is most acceptable: these and many other thinges are to be thought vpon, in the choyse of a wyfe, and namely thys, that a mā choose one that in goods and feature is lyke to himselfe: for inequality breedeth contempt, and perpetu all brawlinge, but equality knytteth together the myndes with moste firme loue and affection: It is also good for a man to take suche a wyfe as hath not beene touched nor maryed to another man before: for there is a double labour and trouble to him that marieth a wydow, first to vnteache her the maners of her former husbande, and secondlye to enure, and acquainte her, wyth his owne fashions.

Equality in choyse.

Aristotle thincketh the best tyme for maydes to be maryed, at the age of eightene yeares, and for a man at thirtye and fiue yeares of age: for those ages are ryppe and perfect for procreation of issue: but as touching the trayning

The age for man and woman to marye

of theym

of theym vp in fashions, if they were a fewe lesse yeares ponger, I woulde thincke it more commodious, specialye in this our tyme, wherin vices (as the Satyrill saieth) do swarme: *Lycurgus* also affirmed that it was a shameful thing for man & woman to passe beyond those yeares vnmaried: For he ordayned that those persons should be noted wyth infamie, and expelled the Theatres, who at ỳ age of xxxvii. yeares were found to haue lyued wythout a wyfe: The Romayns also debarred al them from bearinge any publike office, and esteemed them as vnworthy to be honoured any waye by the common weale, whyche woulde not helpe and furder the same wyth augmentation of Issue.

Let the husband instruct his wyfe wyth the best maners, neyther wyth threateninges, reproche, nor stripes: for it is a seruile thing & not mete at any hand, for familier Societye: and in deede wyues become obdurate wyth beatinge euen as naughtye seruauntes, and bondmen become worse and worse, and with stripes are dayly more & more geuen to follow their owne willfull wayes: So women are lesse obedient to their husbandes, and do all thinges peuishlye against the grayne, when they are vngentlye entreated of their husbandes, and getting at any tyme occasion for their purpose, runne headlong into al filthynes without eyther awe or reuerence of matrimony, thinkinge that they make none offence at all, when they may lay for their excuse ỳ they do it in reuengemẽt of their stripes before receiued: therfore with reason must wee deale wỉ them, ỳ they may vnderstand all thinges to be done, for the common profyte of their whole household, for the honestye of theimselues, and of wedlocke: the secrets also ỳ are and ought to be betweene man and wyfe, let them be included within the walles of their chamber and no further: for that man taketh an ill way both for himselfe and his wiues honesty which blabbeth out those thinges that are to be kept in silence: for we muste so cast in our mindes to

Orderly instruction to be geuen by the mã to the vvyfe.

Secretes of Wedlocke betvven man and Wyfe ought not to be reuealed.

des to liue in Wedlocke, that wee bee not as laughinge stockes to anye abrode, for anye matters done wythin our owne houses: therfore in matrimonye all thinges ought to be kept secrete: for what can bee more lewde and shamefull, then eyther the husbande amongest his friendes, or the wyfe amongest her neighbours, to chatte and babble oute suche matters, as ought in all poyntes to be concealed.

The doting fondnes of Candaules, ouer his fayre vvyfe how hee vvas for th. same slayne.

Candaules Kynge of *Lydia*, had a wyfe, vppon whose beautye he greatly doted; neyther thoughte hee it sufficiente to blaze abroade her Feacture and Beautye vnto all men, and to manifest vnto the worlde, suche matrimoniall secretes as were to bee kept close: but also would haue one to bee a wytnesse of hys Pleasures, and therefore broughte her forth naked, and shewed her to his companion *Gyges* (as *Herodotus* saith) whom assone as *Gyges* had seene, hee was so inflamed wyth loue towardes her, that hee thoughte vppon, ne cared for anye other thing more then how to obtayne her to his owne wyll: and shee throughlye knowing the matter, and supposing her selfe to haue beene of her husbande thus betrayed, as one that alienated his dealinges and loue to another, deuised with the adulterer *Gyges* to murther her husband, and thereupon bestowed both her kingdome and herselfe vpon ꝑ same *Gyges*: by this meanes did *Candaules* lose both his lyfe, & his kingdom, when he thought his pleasures to be lesse, so longe as they were kept in silence and vnknowen.

Two precepts to be obserued by the husbād towardes his vvyfe.

Cleobulus Lyndius (accoumpted one of the seuen sages of Greece) geueth vs twoo good lessons touchinge wyuinge: the one is that wee shoulde deale wyth theym by flatteringe. The other that in presence of strangers, wee shoulde neuer chyde theym: for the one hee sayde, was a poynte of foolishenes, the other of madnes.

Furthermore let the husband committe in charge vnto his wyfe, al thinges domesticall and within dores, and let

let hym ſuffer her to haue the diſpenſation of the ſame:
Let her perfourme her diligence at home, and let the huſbande employe his induſtrye abroade: let her nouriſh and foſter their children, and let him inſtruct and teache theym: let the goodman of the houſe, as neede requireth knowe to ſeeke after ſuche thinges as appertayne to the vſe of the familye, and this not by vſurye, or anye filthye lucre, but eyther wyth tyllinge the grounde and fruictes of the earth, which is neuer couetous, nether diſſembleth wyth her tylers: but euermore reſtoreth the Seedes to her committed, wythe moſte plentifull fruite and gayne: for it is meete and conueniente, that the common mother of all men, ſhoulde nouriſhe and bring vp her children as it were wyth her dugges and encreaſe, eyther wyth liberall Sciences, or Merchaundyze, or nauigation, in traffique, in Sellinge and buyinge, wythout lyinge or vanitye, or in other honeſt traades, tendinge to the profite, and ornament of the cyttye.

The huſbands charge abrode

Farthermore it behooues him to ſpare and ſaue that hee getteth: for in vayne doe they take laboure to gette Ryches, where is no regarde of ſparinge: and where the expences do ſtill runne oute, wythout anye comminge in: neyther is this prouerb of drawing vp water in a pitcher þ is ful of holes any other thing then firſt to get, and then prodigally & ryotouſly to lauiſh out: Yet would I not þ the houſholder ſhoulde bee a myſer and ſteyned wyth pinchyng couetouſnes, then the whych plague, there can be none more pernicious: neyther yet more diſcrepante, or further of frō al humanity: for the couetous man hurteth all men, is odious to all men, neyther doynge good to hymſelfe or to any of his frendes: Hee neuer reioyſeth at hartes eaſe, hee is alwayes ſadde, churliſhe, penſiue, and crabbed, he cannot fynde in his harte to loue, and cheriſhe his wyfe, and children, nor departe with anything vnto them, to liue merily withall, but always is found a ſeruer.

The couetous man good to none, but hurtful to all.

a ſeruer of him ſelfe, an oppreſſor of his owne nature, is alwayes hungrye, alway thirſtye, and continually vexed with an inſaciable greedye deſire, neyther can any thinge ſuffice him: Very aptly did the riche *Attalus* compare a couetous man to an hungry dogge that ſnatcheth vp fragmentes of bread and meate at his maiſters table, whiche ſlappeth vp ſtreightwaies whole & vnchawed gubs wout any taſte, and ſtreightways with open mouthe, lokes ſtyll for more, standinge at receipt of further hope for more to come.

A couetous mā compared to an hungrye dogge.

Let a man thanckefullye enioye his goodes, and eſtate preſent, and wyth well doinge, let him hope ſtyll for better: for it is the parte of a faynt harted perſon, too muche to feare penurie, & for that cauſe not to dare to vſe thoſe thinges whiche are preſent: because (forſooth) he feareth that he ſhall hereafter lacke.

The charge of all dealinges within the houſe belongeth vnto the wyues: and it were very hard dealing that the goodman, who trauayleth and taketh paynes abrode to ſeeke thryft, when he cōmeth home into his owne houſe as it were into the porte or hauen of tranquillitye, after a moſte daungerous and harde voyage, ſhould alſo be buſied and troubled with ordering houſhold affayres at home, when he surceaſſinge all care, and deſiringe to be at quietneſſe and reſt, repayreth home, for eaſe and ſuccour: therfore let the wyfe performe her diligence, and let her take vppon her the charge of all thinges which are at home to be ordered, accordyng to the preſcribed ordinaunces of ỹ huſbande, vnto whome in all pointes, ſhee ought to bee obedient, for it goeth very ill in that houſholde where ỹ wife beareth al rule, and the huſband obeyeth, and is made as one of the meigniall folke.

Let the wyfe eſpecially ſet in order her houſhold ſtuffe and thoſe neceſſaries that are neate, and of value, & whiche are to be reſerued to ỹ vſe of a better life, whether the ſame belong to womānly furniture, or to mans apparell:

Ordering of houſhold neceſſaries.

let her diſpoſe

dispose and order them wythin secrete roomes, in the house, that whensoeuer occasion happeth to occupye theym, they maye bee in a readynes, and not to seeke: for it is a moste certayne pouertye, when a man lacketh that thinge which hee hath, and standeth in neede of the same, knowing not in what place it is layde vp.

Safe layde vp sone found.

Moreouer such things as dulie concerne meate & drinck, and which are prepared for dinner & supper, let her so dayly dispend & bestow, that they be neither wastfully gourmaundised, and swilled vp in glottonye and dronkennes, by the folkes of the house: neyther by reason of too much nyggardy and pinching, let them not bee hungerbytten and sterued: Therfore let her keepe a meane, and so shall shee at one and the selfe same tyme, both rightlye prouide for their healthe, and also for the priuate affayres of their familye, aswell at one tyme as at another: and let her w great moderacyon qualefy her selfe in thosethinges which appertayne to her own selfe, especiallye for apparell & ornamentes for her owne bodye, which greatlye consume her husbandes substaunce: For they cost deare at the first and in small space are eyther by vse cleane worne, or elles solde for a greate deale lesse then they were bought.

A moderate diet and measurable apparel.

Wyse Women feare euil reportes.

An honeste manered woman ought to feare nothinge more, then euyll reporte: for shee that once hath an euyll name, whether it be rightlye by her deserued, or that she bee wrongfully slaundered, hardly can recouer her good name and fame agayne: for a woman suspected of vnchast lyuing leadeth a miserable and wretched lyfe.

The true ornamentes of women are Modestye, chastetye, shamefastnes and prayse, whiche cannot bee purchased, wyth any gold, pearles, or precious stones: but seing it is so, that all these cannot be seene in any one good woman, although very honest: Chastitye yet is that onlye ornamente, whiche may supplie whatsoeuer lacketh in the others: for this enlargeth the nowrye, when it is not of it selfe sufficient, it not onely adorneth and maketh come

The true ornaments of a Woman.

Chastitye the speciall ornament in a Woman.

lye that which is deformed, but also reduceth a woman to the similitude of beautie it selfe, it enobleth ignobilitye, & finally fulfilleth all thinges, whiche in any parte may otherwise be wantinge.

Example of chastitye.

The fiftye Uirgines of *Sparta* haue eternized theyr names vnto all Posteritye: for they beinge by their Parents sent to do sacrifice among the *Messenians*, thinking to be entertayned after the maner of frendly hospitality: the *Messenians* with such impaciencie and concupiscence, lusted after them, that dispisinge the law of hospitalitye, they sought meanes by sollicitynge their consentes to carnall knowledge, & so to deflowre their virginitye: whych filthy motion the virgines denyinge, & they importunatelye vrginge to dishonestie their bodies, yet was there not one founde of all those virgines, that woulde consent vnto their willes: but chose rather to dye then so to loose their maydēhode, whose bloud ỹ *Lacedæmoniās*, through the great helpe of God, reuenged afterward by a notable victorye.

A second ornamente of vvomen is to haue pretye and towardly children.

The second ornament of a woman is to haue prety children, and of an excellent towardnesse: whiche ornamente how much it is to be esteemed of, *Cornelia* the wife of *Paulus AEmilius* hath taught vs: for when a certayne womā of *Campania* cōminge vnto her, & shewing out in a brauerye her pearles, golde, and pretious apparell, requested the same *Cornelia* in lyke maner to bring forth and shewe her ornaments, and iewels, she fooled her out wyth wordes, vntil suche tyme as her children returned home from the schole, whome shee shewinge vnto the other woman, sayde:

Vertuous children the right Iewelles of dearest estimation vnto parētes.

Beholde my delicate store and treasures, all myne ornamentes, all my Iewelles and all my delights: which perswasion is the best that can bee vnto all matrones, that in respecte of their children they shoulde despyse al other iewelles, and ornaments, and repute their chiefe attyre in the hope and towardnes of their Children.

Besides this let the Wyfe take heede, that shee vse no dissimula

dissymulation, nor cloaked Iuggelinge wyth her husbād in any matter: for what thing can bee more dishonest in a woman, then to shewe her selfe not to be the same whych shee was.

Pompeia the wyfe of *Nero* the Emperour, was not onlye made a iestynge stocke to the worlde, so longe as shee lyued, because shee prancked herselfe too muche in curyous trymminge vp herselfe to the best shewe of all beautye, but also purchased vnto her name perpetual ignominie. For not Poets onely, but Historiographers also, not a fewe do wryte, that shee not in couert maner, and closelye, but apertly and manifestlye fancied this curiosity, & they affirme, that shee had alwayes in a readynes, whersoeuer she went, whole heardes of Asses, that shee might continually cherishe her delicate face, & rynse her mouth wyth the mylke of theym daylye, thereby to appeare the fayrer and beautifuller: for there is no good hope to bee had in that woman whiche seeketh to bee praysed abrode for her beautye: It was lawfull for the *Spartane* virgins to goe with their face bare, tyll they were maryed, that they mighte thereby the better gette theym husbandes: but after they were maryed they couered both their head and their face, as those then that soughte after no Husbandes, but onelye cared to retayne such as they enioyed: But *Gorgias Leontinus* opinion is, that mennes wyues shoulde bee kepte at home from goinge abroade: whyche thinge surely liketh not mee: but for theim to goe abrode verye seeldome, that truelye doe I greatlye commende: For a woman that is a walker, and a trauetler from her owne house abrode, can seeldome bee chaste: let the wyfe shewe her selfe of one mynde and concorde, wyth her husbande in all thinges, for there can be nothinge more pleasaunte amonge mortall menne, then when the man, and wyfe doe gouerne their Housholde wyth concorde, and mutuall good wyll together: and on the other parte nothing worse, then mutual discord, & domestical brabling.

Curiositie of a simpering prik medayntye.

Woman shamefaste.

Womē ought to be restrayned from much fil kinge and gadding abrode.

Domestical discord.

The Athenians haue taught vs that ſilence in matters betweene man and wyfe, ought to bee vſed: for when as Philippe king of *Macedonie* warred againſt the Athenians, and that their ſcoutes had intercepted letters of *Olympias* ſent from her vnto kinge Philippe her huſbande, they commaunded thoſe letters to bee redeliuered whole vnopened, and vntouched, becauſe they thoughte it was not lawful (no not for the enemie) to know and vnderſtād the ſecretes paſſinge from the wyfe to her huſband.

In wedlocke alſo let all anger and ſtomackinge be far abſent, whiche makes loue manye tymes more ſlacke and ſlowe, and altogether diminiſheth the ſame, diſordringe all domeſticall affayres, and cauſing the ſtate of wedlocke to be more vnpleaſaunt.

The moſt auncient Romaines, did adorne that womā with a crowne of chaſtitye, whiche was onely contented wyth one huſbande, and with continuall wydowhood, to profeſſe and ſhewe forthe the ſincerityе of her incorrupte mynde: for ſhe ſeemeth to be of an vnbrideled luſte, whiche marryeth agayne, eſpecially if ſhee haue children, whiche are the pledges of matrimonye, and expreſſe the lyuelye ymage of her late deceaſſed huſbande, both in countinaunce and name: moreouer ſhee that marryeth agayne, is ſeene to bee curſt, and wicked towards her children, becauſe they are depriued of their father, and forſaken of all men: neglectinge theym as it were in the entraunce of their lyfe, euen at that age and time when they haue moſt neede of their parentes helpe: which reaſon (vndoubtedlye) ought to perſwade all wydowes to kepe their chaſtitye, together with their children, that they make no further tryall of fortune, of whom they being once decepued may ſcarcely hope for better lotte or fortune afterwarde.

The vvyfe no ſtomacker or reſiſter.

Wydovves ma ryinhe agayne make men iud ge them to do it for luſte and lecherye.

Annia, a woman of noble race among the Romaynes, when her neighbours and friendes perſwaded her in her wydowhood to mary wyth another huſband, ſeeinge ſhee was yet of a luſtye age, and excellente beautye: made

aunſwre

aunswere that she would not any wyse so do: for sayth she if I finde a good husband as I had before, I wyll not bee alwaps in feare least I should forgo him: but if I should matche my selfe wyth an euil husband, what neede haue I to trye an euill man, when I haue once already had experience of a verye good man: for she that is disapointed by the destenye of her first husbande, seemes to be wyse if shee no more committe her selfe vnto the Fortune of Maryage.

Annia a vvorthye vvydovv her aunsvvere touching marriage the second tyme.

The daughter of *Demotion* the Athenian, although shee was a virgine, yet hearing of the death of *Leosthenes* her espoused husband, who was slayne at the battle of *Lẽnos*, killed her selfe: affirming that although she neuer had any carnall or matrimonial copulation with her husbande, yet if shee shoulde bee compelled to take another man, shee should decepue the second, seeinge that in hart shee was maryed to the first: notwithstanding those women deale a greate deale better: who in the firste flower of their yeares do hap to marye the seconde tyme, namely if they be then wout children: for al lyuing creatures desire to haue and begette Issue: and for procreation sake, rather then for luste to ioyne together, seemeth a thinge much more fitte & reasonable.

First loue is moste stedfast.

Hiero of *Syracusa*, being on a tyme chidden by a certein familier frende of his because his breath did stincke, & hee for helping thereof had vsed no remedies: sayd, ẏ hee neuer knewe so muche in himselfe before that tyme, & blamed his wyfe, in that shee had neuer admonished hym thereof: to whome his wife modestly excusinge herselfe: sayde, husband be not angrye with mee, for I thought ẏ all mennes mouthes had smelled so, and therfore I kept silence. *Armenia* also comminge home from a royal feast made by kinge *Cyrus*, when all men for the comlynesse of his person highly praysed *Cyrus*, shee beinge demaunded, by her husband, what shee thought of the dignity and feature of ẏ king: husband (quod she) I neuer turned myne

A modest aunsvvere of a chast Ladye.

eyes

eyes from you, and therefore what an other mannes ſcature is, I am vtterlye ignorannte.

Conſideratiõs in the educatiõn of chyldrē

In the education or bringinge vp of chyldren there are two thinges eſpeciallye to be conſidered, wherof the one chiefly appertayneth to the mother, the other vnto the father himſelfe, the firſte reaſon conterneth the meanes to lyue, the ſeconde to lyue well: the firſte becauſe it is and falleth for Home, belongeth to the dutie of the mother whiche ought to bee the gouerneſſe of the houſholde matters accordinge to the preſcribed ordinaunces enioyned her by her huſbande: The matrone therefore that is with childe, ought to forecaſt and conſider that ſhee muſt bring foorth a chylde, and greate dyligence muſt ſhee take that in no reſpecte ſhee hurte the chylde within her bodye, before it bee broughte into the worlde, and eſpeciallye ſhee muſte cheriſhe her owne bodye, and take her meate wyth modeſtye, feedinge vppon ſuche kynde of foode, as may nouriſhe and ſtrengthen her younge one, and not that whiche maye weaken it, and ſhee ſhall ſhunne to muche Slouthe: a moderate Walkinge for her is profitable and healthfull, and cauſeth farre more eaſie deliueraunce in childebyrthe: Shee ſhall alſo beware of all vehemente labours, eſpeciallye daunſinge, whiche thinge by example *HYPPOCRATES* confirmed: For when a certayne woman coulde not auoyde the receyued Seede of man, ſhee deſired his deuiſe to helpe her that the Seede ſhoulde not proſper, whome hee counſayled euerye daye, by iumpinge, and daunſinge, to ſyfte the Seede, and ſo the ſeauenth day by meenes of her leapinge and daunſing ſhe brought foorth an vnperfect conception, couered ouer wyth a lyttle thinne rymme or ſkinne, ſuche as wee ſee is in an egge betweene the ſhell and the yolke: Some women keepe ſuche Reuell rere and coyle in daunſinge and leapinge, at banquettes and feaſtes, that for verye payne they eyther procure abortion before the tyme, or elles bringe the ſame foorthe verye weake and feeble: other to

Matrones vvith chylde.

A vvicked demaunde of a Woman in an vngodly practiſe.

Daunſinge daſgerous for Women that are vvith child

thend

thende to seeme prety and slenderer vnto their louers, do gyrd themselues so straight, that they hurt themselues, & their bellies also thereby very much: some cramme & fill their bellies with dayntye fare and wyne, euen tyll they surphet agayne: and very many women vse to clope their stomackes wyth sower fruite, and vnrype apples. I let passe to speake of their lustes, and certayne beastly prancks, not by speache to be vttered, wherby they do not onelye trauaile before their tyme, but also do bring forth into the worlde lothesome monsters.

Strait gyrding
Tospotvvomé

Frute eaters.

After that the lyttle infante shalbe borne, whiche not longe agone the mother knewe not, because it was closed in her wombe: let her wyth her Dugges, and with that Fountayne, nourishe and foster it, whiche prouident Nature hath wyth suche plentifulnes prepared in her breast: Worst of all (in myne opinion) do suche women deserue of their children, which put their babes out to nourssing, and at that tyme when they haue most neede of their mothers helpe, committinge theym vnto younge huswyues and countrye nourses, suche vnto whom in deede, some woulde not committe a younge kytlinge, if they had anye pleasure in it: furthermore they are not whole mothers, but rather appeare to be halfe mothers, whiche straight waye put out to nurssinge, theyr owne naturall chylde, & denye to geeue it sucke, whom euen nowe in their owne wombe, wyth their owne blood they nourished: do they perswade theimselues that theyr neepples and duggs are by nature geeuen them for an ornamente, or beautifynge of theyr breast, and not to the nourishmente of their chyldren? But wee do knowe some women which wyth slyberfauces and medecines do drye vp and stoppe that most sacred Fountayne, the nourisher of Mankinde, yea not wythout greate daunger of theyre owne healthes, to the end (forsooth) they may appeare the more beautifull and in the eyes of theyr Louers more pleasaunte and acceptable.

Naturall mothers are naturall nurses.

Let

Let no good mother suffer her chylde to be infected wyth the contagion of mylcke drawen from another womans breastes, and let her in so doinge perfourme the poynte of a whole and entiere parent, deseruinge well of her childe: whom shee shall thereby make more readye to requite & recõpẽce her whẽ it shal grow to further yeares of discretion, if it shall perceyue that it hath not at any tyme bene defrauded of the mothers fosteringe, and nourishemente, in the firste beginninge of lyfe: for the benefite of the mothers breaste, was among the Auncientes had in such reuerence and regarde, that what soeuer hard or difficulte, requeste the mothers were to craue at the handes of their childrẽ, their fashion was to requeste the same, for & by the mylcke whiche they gaue vnto theym in their Infancye, and babeshippe. For what pleasaunter delightes or pleasures can there be, then a younge sucklinge chylde whose lispinge speache, & pretty endeuouringes to bring out hys wordes, his swete laughter, and the pleasaunt mothers speach agayne vsed to her sayd chylde, seemes to me farre to surpasse all other counterfeict scoffers or iesters.

Good mother good nurse.

Neyther neede Apes, or little dogges, to bee soughte for there, to sport themselues wythall, where little babes do creepe about the house.

The members and tender partes of younge chyldren are to be fashioned by the Nourses handes, and the lytle Infantes bodye to be wrapped and bounde with a swathinge bande, from the shoulders, euen downe to the ancle, but yet somewhat looser about the breaste and bulke: for the bredth or largenes of those partes, do make very muche to the dignitie and strengthninge of a man, and somewhat straighter about the stomacke, and about the nether partes of the bellye, the better to confirme and strengthẽ the same: and that the Bellye beare not out aboue comlye proporcion: *Aristotle* also affirmeth that cryinge is profitablie geeuen by nature vnto chyldren, for hee thinketh that it is an indeuour or striuing vsed by the chylde,

Orderinge and tendering the members of children.

to hys

to his encreasinge, and that it helpeth much to stretch out the breast, and hart stringes: wherfore hee prescribeth the Nurse not to force the childe from cryinge. Women conceyued with child ought to haue great care of themselues least that they be deliuered before their time, or miscary in childbearing, which thing ẏ we may haue foreknowledge of, *Hyppocrates* teacheth: for eyther he sayth ẏ infant moueth & styrreth in the mothers wombe, vpon the 70. or ells 90. daye, & it expresseth ẏ it is eyther the seuenth or nynthe moneth, wherein shee shall be delyuered of her chylde, so shal a carefull mother be skilful of her tyme of deliuerãce, before it happen.

For Women to knowe the full time of goinge with childe, and when to be deliuered.

Wee must take heede (as *Celsus* sayth) least in tyme of prosperous healthe we do consume and waste awaye suche thinges as shoulde be sauegardes and preseruacions vnto vs in sickneſſe: wherfore a lusty healthefull man, who is at his owne disposition, will refuse no kinde of meate that the cõmon people vseth, and twyse a daye rather then once desireth to eate meate: neyther taketh he any lesse thẽ wil satisfy his stomacke: he vseth also diuers kindes of lyfe, as sometimes to bee in the countrye, sometimes in the cittie, but more often in the fieldes. To sayle vpon the Seas, to hauke, and to hunte, and sometimes to take his reste, but yet most often to exercise himselfe: for certaynly Idlenes enfeebleth the bodye, but labour strengtheneth it, ẏ one hasteneth vntimelye olde age, the other maketh a man to haue a longe and lusty younge age.

Hovv a lusty, and healthfull man disposeth his tyme.

Wee muste deale with children by a lyttle and lyttle to teache theym, euen as when we would fill a vessell whych hath a narrowe mouthe: for if we poure water fast, it fylleth and runneth ouer: but if wee drop it in by a slender funnell, wee shall fille it toppe full. To prayse the industrye and diligence of children in their exercises, doth vnto theim much good, and to chyde them for their slouth, is vnto theym profitable also: for, to bee preferred before their equalles, and to bee prayſed for well doinge by their mayſters,

Hovv to deale vvith children in teachig thẽ.

ſters doth much sharpen childrens wyttes, and quickneth their courage in all their studies and exercises.

The mothers discipline and correction, for children in their first tender yeares of Infancie is verye profitable, & maketh theym more prone, docible and apte to learne & compasse greater studies: Now when they shall come to seauen yeares of age, let the father take care of them, and instructe theym with a certayne greater diligence, whose charge is to trayne vp his children to lyue well and vertuouslye, then whiche discipline, none surely can be more profitable, or of greater effecte geeuen from mortal men. For *Alexander* who for his wisedom was surnamed the greate, was wonte to saye, that hee was no lesse bounde vnto *Aristotle* his Scholemaister, then vnto king Philip his father: for albeit his father had begottt him into this worlde a lyuing creature: yet *Aristotle* was he that taughte him the waye to lyue well, whiche knowledge be in deede thought, was to be preferred before bare lyfe.

Infancy of the childrē is the mothers charge to loke vnto

The chiefe and speciall token of witte in children sayth *Fabius Quintilianus* is memorye, when as the childe learneth easlye, and remembreth surelye: It shall therfore be best in the firste yeares of their youth, to exercise memorie for the more perfecting and throughly furdering the vigor and force of their wytt, & eyther by ambition or rewards and gyftes to allure theym, to the end they may kepe manye thinges in memorye, and not be ashamed or abashed, to vtter and recite the same in any great assemblie of people. For the propounding of rewarde, & allurement, sharpeneth the witte, stirreth vp the memorye, and maketh ỹ myndes of Children more chearfull, and prompte to anye matter. There are some wryters which suppose that blushinge in a chylde is a very good signe of shamefastnes, & better then paleneſſe: for paleneſſe argueth to much fearfulnes, theother pretendeth and sheweth a very good towardenes, as *Diogenes* witnesseth: for on a tyme he seing a chyld to blush: be of good cheare my sonne (quod he) for such

Memorye in children is the best token of Wytte.

Cherishing of children.

Blushing in children a sign of good nature

ſuche a kynde of coloure, is the colour of bertue.
If the father vnderſtand, or perceiue his ſonne to be docible, and of excellent wytt, no couetouſnes ought to let or ſtay him whereby he ſhould fruſtrate his ſonne of ſo great a commendacion: let him therfore ſo ſone as hee can, betake his chylde vnto good Scholemaiſters, that he may in thoſe liberall Artes, be taught and inſtructed, wherevnto nature herſelfe hath moſt adapted hym: for nothing oughte more to bee wiſhed for vnto the Parentes, then to haue their children learned, of whom ſurelye, to bee vanquiſhed and ouercome, in all kynde of prayſe, they ought not onelye to ſuffer, and take in good parte, but alſo to eſteeme the prayſe and reward of victorye gotten by their Children, to appertayne vnto theymſelues.

The fathers care to prouide a good Schole maiſter for his children.

There is nothinge that cauſeth Children to prooue more obediente to their parentes, then when as they vnderſtande that they haue profited in ſtudies of good Artes by the furtherance, and diligence of their Parentes beſtowed vpon them: Neyther ought the Chylde ſo muche to conſider of his Parentes ſubſtance, whyche truelye are but thinges tranſitorye, fraple, and in the handes of Fortune, and whiche do onelye garniſhe and ſet oute the bodye, but do not increaſe the mynde or furniſhe it wythe perpetuall goodes: wherefore verye well ſayde *Diogenes* that a ryche man beinge vnlearned, is as a ſheepe wyth a golden fleece.

A rich man vnlearned.

Parentes ought alſo to commytte the cuſtody of their children vnto their freindes to bringe vp, aſwell for that they doe leſſe cocker theym beinge abſent, and agayn becauſe they wyl bee the leſſe wanton in other mennes houſes, beinge nouriſhed at an other mans table, and cheriſhed by another mans fyer, & they greatlye feare leſt they ſhould be very ill thought of, & thruſt out of dores by thē, vnto whom their Parents had betaken & cōmitted theym in gouernance, vpon great truſt and diligence. For it hath bene ſeene, that euen greate Prynces, vnder Tutors, and

ouerseers, haue manye times proued more excellent then vnder their owne Parentes. I thincke it profitable for the chylde to be taught and instructed in twoo kyndes of discipline at once, neyther is it to be feared, that the wytte of the chylde shoulde be ouercharged by two scholemaisters of seuerall artes or Sciences: for he is put to no more paynes, but his diligence is deuided, and tediousnes remoued: for when the childe is wearye of one kynde of teachinge, he goeth streight to an other, euen as it were vnto an Hauen or restinge porte of his trauailes, and the inconstancie of those young yeares which hardly perseuereth long in one and the selfe same thinge is not altogether vnprofitable: Nothinge more famous can bee geeuen from parentes to their children, then the studies of good disciplines and sciences whiche are therefore called Lyberall Sciences, because they make mē free from al vyle & lothsome lucre, & from all voluptuousnes, and loose dishonestye: for they reduce and bringe vs to wysdome: then the which there can bee nothinge more excellente vnto mortall men, by reason whereof wee seeme to approche, and to be coniopned wyth the lyuinge God: the rewarde of whiche sciences, if there were none other to bee had amonge mortall men, verelye vertue onelye of it selfe is sufficient: whiche yet alwayes is accompanied withe Renoume, and Honoure, euen as the bodye is with the shadowe: If it bee so that Children be somwhat of a dull capacitie or otherwise lesse fyt or apt to receyue learninge, let them be put to learne the practize of some other trades, and occupations, especiallye such as come nearest in goodnes vnto learning, least that they remayne vnprofitable by meanes of Idlenesse and slouthe: for true is that sentence of *Marcus Cato*:

Tvvo kyndes of lerning not preiudicial for the chylde to practise at one instante.

Commodities proceding of Learninge.

Children of dul and meane vvytes hovve to be emploid

By slouth, and doinge nothing at all:
Men learne to doe euyll, great and small.

Therfore diligent and paynful cytizens, ought to dryue slugglshe

sluggishe and slouthfull people out of their citties, euen as the diligent Bees do the Drones or Dorres, which will not take paynes, for the common Honnye: and wee muste esteeme as most holye, that ordinaunce whiche *Solon* enacted, affirming that:

Solons lawe, for the chylde that is not nurtered and well instructed by his father.

That chylde to his father is nothing bounde,
In any respect of dutie naturall:
If that for him hee hath not founde,
Some kinde of trade to lyue withall.

But if all other disciplines and Arts should be lacking, yet oughte they to foresee and regarde, that their children be not brought vp without the rule of good manners: for it is farre better for men to bee wythoute children, and to be for euer barreyne and bereste of all progenye or Issue, then when men haue children, to bringe them vp euill nurtured, or of lewde behauiour. *Epaminondas* the Thebane a worthye man, and of greate wysedome, neuer maryed anye wyfe: whiche thing his friend *Pelopidas* reprehending because hee left not the Seede or succession of his valiantnesse, vnto his children, and therfore that in so doinge hee dyd ill prouide for the commoditye, or profite of his countrye: *Epaminondas* thereupon (smyling) aunswered: take you heede frende *Pelopidas*, least you doe worse prouide for the publique utilitie of your countrye, which may happen to leaue such a sonne begotten by you, whose lyfe perhaps hereafter may be wished of some to bee better: by whiche sayinge, this most wyse Gentleman sheweth, that Parẽtes ought to feare nothinge more, then least they haue suche childrẽ, as may degenerate frõ their steps & qualities.

Better to be vnborne then vntaught.

Epaminondas.

Neocles the Athenian, a man noble, and excellente, had a sonne called *Themistocles*, whome in his youth he disherited, because hee was misliked and thought to lyue verye lewdely, wastinge his substance, and in euerye poynte disobayinge

obeying his fathers commaundemente: this seuere and harde dealinge did not discourage the sonne, but did rather farre more encourage him to remẽber himselfe: for hee thinkinge that suche a manifest blemish of misdemeanour coulde not bee extinguished withoute some singuler industrye and prayse, from thencefoorth wholy bent hym selfe to thexercise of vertue, and by al care and study, that in him was possible, endeuoured to traueyle for the commoditye of his common weale: & with all dyligence that he could, protected and mayntayned the causes of his friends, and priuate iudgements: and within short space so amended his faultes, and reformed the vices of hys youthe, that there was no one man in his tyme preferred before him, and verye fewe were thoughte to bee founde equalle vnto him: therefore the seueritye of a father towardes such a Sonne, was not to be found fault wythal, who in dede of a most naughtie & lewd person, reclaimed him to be a man in all kynde of prayse moste cõmendable.

Example of a ryotous perſõ reclaymed.

Polemon, the Athenian lyuinge vnchaste in his youthfull yeares, was wanton and geeuen to filthy behauiour, sometimes also ouerseene with drinke, & hauing a Garlande (as the custome was for the stoutest drincker to haue) rushed with his companions into *Xenocrates* schoole, onely to flout and mocke, and to playe some pageant of knauery: at that tyme as it chaunced *Xenocrates* was discoursinge amongest his scholers touching modestie, temperaunce, and chastitye: whiche purpose for al this, hee chaunged not, but playnly conuerted his meaning, euen vpõ *Polemõ* there present: by which oratiõ made, he so reformed himselfe, ỹ without any more ado, forsaking there his companions, and chaunginge his former old lyfe, he yeelded himselfe scholar vnto *Xenocrates*, and within a shorte space excelled all his scholefellowes: and besides this, so nerelye expressed his scholemaister in all matters that after his decease this *Polemon*, beinge then lefte hys successor, so learnedly behaued himselfe after thimit aciõ

of the

of ꝑ other, that the Scholemaister was thought one styl, and not scant perceyued to be chaunged. Younge men also are to be enured wyth bodely exercises, both for their better health, for (as *Celsus* saith) slouth enfebleth the bodye, labour strengtheneth it, the one causinge vntimelye olde age, the other long and lustye youth, and also for that they might be made more profitable members for ꝑ cõmõ weale in tyme of warres, wherin they are more pr̃opt and actiue, if they come thereunto wyth a bodye exercised rather then by slouth effeminated: in which thinge the *Lacedamonians* did verye muche excell: whose children, in runninge, leapinge, and castinge the dart, were dayly exercised and practised: from whõ *Diogenes* on a tyme returning and goinge to Athens, was asked whither he went, and from whence he came: I come (saith he) from men, and am now goinge to women.

Young men must be exercised.

A morall Methode

THE FIFTH BOOKE EFfectuallye discoursinge vppon the *ENDEVOVRS, TRADES, OFFICES, DVE*ties, and seuerall vocations: aswell of the ciuill citizen as of the vplandish countreyman: also the discouerye of vices, with the daũgers that in euery realme and countrye thereby ensueth.

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RApine promiseth Idlenes and rest: but vertue sheweth before her, labour and sweat. Euill mannered persons, and suche as in their speache and gesture be grosse and vnnurtured, be termed vnciuil: because they rather seeme to haue bene brought vp in the coũtrey then in the Cytties. From hence is deriued the worde, & phrase of speache called *Ciuilitye*, or *Urbanitye*: because it doth appertayn both to speach and manners, and is so called by the name of the latine worde *Vrbs*, a cyttye: because through cyuil companying or meeting together of wyse & learned men, a certayn knowledge and learning is gotten, which dyrecteth and trayneth vp men in gallant curtesie, pleasaunt order, and comelye grace, the contrarye wherof, is called Rusticitie.

Ciuilitye.

If a man would in fewe woordes determine and define what a Ciuil man is, hee shall say that he is a good man, and one that is profitable to his common weale: for firste, and specially hee ought to haue before his eyes that sentence of *Plato* where he sayth:

What a ciuill man is.

Men are of God created, not onelye
To profite themselues in this lyfe presente:

But

But that they shoulde their native countrye
Studye to profite wyth honest intent:
Partely agayne that they be styll bent,
To profite frende, children, and kinsfolke naturall:
To this ende to lyue well ought all men mortall.

And by good righte, humane societye is instituted and appointed to lyue together, for one to profite another: These thinges when wee shall consider vppon, wee shall well percepue that we ought to helpe and prouide for our native countrye. Society humane vvherun to it tendeth.

The little Bees, and Antes, being creatures not only the leaste of all others, but also dumbe and deafe, oughte to be examples vnto vs, whiche vndoubtedlye do laboure one for another: they swarme together, they keepe theim selues together, they are preserued altogether, wyth like defēces and succours, they dryue away their enemie with common daunger, and mayntayne their store, their yong ones & all their company: for who can be counted a good Cittizen whiche is good for none but himselfe onelye, gathereth riches to serue his own turne without imparting any thing to others, and scarcely for couetousnes suffering his children and wife to haue somuch as may conuenientlye serue theim meate and drinke. For we ought to esteeme the state of a common weale, as a shyppe whiche hath neede of the helpinge handes and diligence, of all theym which are within it: euerye mariner ought to endeuour himselfe to the vttermost of his power, not only to saue it, from being ouerwhelmed & drowned: but also that shee may arryue at some safe port, or haue. And as in it, some holdes the rother or helme, another directeth the Sayle-yardes, another looketh to the Cables, and others about other matters as the case requireth, and they haue alone mutuall or common care for the preseruation of the ship: So ought all citizens to worke and traueile, & some with councell, some wyth diligence, some wyth ryches, & some Examples of Bees. Comparison of the state of a comon vveal vnto a Shippe.

wyth paynfulnes and industrye, to helpe the cõmon weal, that not onelye it be kept in good estate, but that it maye euery day encrease better and better: for those Cittizens that bee thus minded, are coumpted beste, and by these meanes, do they make the publike weale most wealthye, For surelye no ryches, no reuenues do moze enlarge the state of a Cittye, and make it safer, then when as the Cytizens among themselues, be at vnitie and concorde, and ioyne together for the honour of their countrye: And on the other parte no power nor ryches are stronge enoughe where as the myndes of the cytizens are factious and tarringe. Whiche thing *Sciturus* by a merueylous example taught: for hee beinge by reason of sicknes and age nowe come to decrepicie, caused his sonnes beinge fowerscore and ten in number, to be called before him, and holdinge in his handes a bundle of Speare staues, whiche hee had bound vp together, in number so many as he had sonnes, raught forth the same to euery one of his sonnes seuerallye, commaundinge them to burst them asunder, whiche thinge they affirminge to bee vnpossible: the old father drewe theym oute one by one, and burste theym asunder al, and thereby toke occasion to admonish them that while they agreed and were at vnitye among themselues they should not be ouercome by anye force or power, but that the longer they lyued, the stronger they should be: contrarilye hee tolde them that they shoulde be weake, & of no force, if they disagreed & were at discord amõg thẽselues, & that euery litle enemie should thẽ easely ynough ouercome them: for true is that auncient sentence wherin is sayed, that

Concord in a reapme.

Cõmoditye by concorde.

The common weale is a continuall liuing creature,
Which is neuer killed, nor dyeth at any tyme,
Except to it selfe it iniurye procure:
And be the sole causer of proper ruyne.

The Romaynes possessed the Empyre of the whole worlde, so longe as they abstayned themselues from ciuil

bloudshedde and intestine warres, but when the ambicio of *Cinna*, the infamous table of *Sylla*, the bloudy slaughter of *Marius*, and the warres of the Sonne in lawe, agaynste the father in lawe, enkindled & inuaded the weale publike, thē ꝑ Romaynes (before) the chiefe rulers of the whole worlde became laughinge stockes vnto their Rascall people, and vnto their barbarous enemies: wherfore in a free cittye there can bee no better perswasion, then ꝑ whiche trayneth euerye one vnto concord and vnity, wherwith euen the least cities are encreased, and enioy the benefite of perpetuall libertie: for this is a sure and safe wall of defence: these are the Adamant towers, whyche with no force, no warlike engine, neyther wyth any thōderclappes of Iupiter, can be destroyed & throwne down: By this meanes shall this our cittyzen, whom we would haue accoumpted verye good bee mynded to vnitye, if bee folowinge the opinion of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, consider that oure mynde doth consiste in three partes, whose principalitie, and reason they do shewe to reste in the head as in the tower or castle of the bodye, that this our mind beinge immortall, shoulde alwayes bee nourished wyth the Foode of contemplation of greatest and wayghtiest matters.

Example of ciuill discorde.

Let our cittizen frame his mynde, to exercute the Talente or gyfte wherewyth hee is endewed: for the office of the mynde is to vse reason, whiche ought alwaye to beare rule, and to haue our appetite or desire so inclineable and obedient thereunto, that wee couet not any thing filthye or vndecent: and euen as an horse vnrulye and trampinge, is gouerned by the Bridle and Bytte, of a good ryder: so lett the Appetite or affection of the mynde, bee lead by reason, to whome let hym alwaye obaye, and neuer obstinately resiste, if he desire to be accoūpted a good & a wyse man: for true is that sentence of *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus*:

Reason ought to rule our affections.

As the birde to flye the horse to runne,
And wylde beastes by nature to crueltie
Are geuen, to lyue vnder the Sonne:
Euen so, man hath affinitye
Of mynde and wytte to lyue wythall,
As creature wyth reason imbute:
That tis beleeued, the originall
Of his soule is celestiall institute.

Fovver cardinal vertues.

Fortitude, Temperance, Prudence, and Justice, are fower Sisters linked together in mutuall bandes, they are neuer seperate, for surely one of them alone without ỳ others cannot be perfect, but semeth altogether maymed and vnperfect: Fortitude wythout wysedome is counted rashenes. Prudence wythoute Justice is deemed craftines, and an euill kinde of mallyce: Temperance without Fortitude is reconed cowardise, & Justice wythout Temperance, is thought to be crueltie. Wherupon *Ennius* ỳ Poete sayth: *Sūmum Ius, sūma Iniuria*. Extreme rygor is extreme wronge.

Concord in musicke.

Let therfore these fower vertues agree amonge themselues in a concorde, euen as it comes to passe in musicke, and instrumentes, that they may make a perfect concord, consonancie, and harmonye.

Good reporte and fame for vvell doing.

It is ỳ common profite whiche maketh men to gayne good report for their well doinge, and well deseruinge of all men, whiche the Auncientes in tyme paste so highlye esteemed, that they vouchsafed those persons of deuine honours of whom they had receiued cōmodities and profit.

Worthy actes of Hercules.

For *Hercules* (although a mortall man) yet was thought to be in the number of the Goddes, for no other reason, but because he bestowed many greate commodities vpon manye nacions: for eyther hee busied or contended withe wilde beasts destroying countries, or with his arrowes, kylled the lothsome filthye foules, or slewe the perillous pyrates and common robbers which kept the Seas, and beset

beset the wayes with such daũgerous tales, ỳ no trauailers might passe, or elles did some other suche kynde of worthye exploites: doinge therein muche ease and profite to mortall men, and makinge their lyfe more safe and happye.

Dyonisius also called *Bacchus*, was counted a God, because amongest the Thebanes, he taught the vse howe to make wyne, and was reputed not onelye Noble and famous in warlike affayres, but a verye good searcher out of hidden secretes, for hee first playde the Philosopher in Europa, and then in Asia: So was *Triptolemus* honored for a God, because hee taught the vse of corne amongest ỳ Athenians: and *Isis* a goddesse because shee taught the order how to sowe corne and flaxe: Therfore doubtles they are worthye of rewardes and dignities, which do profite men with their inuentions.

Hovv & vvhy Bacchus vvas deified and made a God.

Triptolemus.

Isis.

It was the poynte of a noble mynde, not to permitte in anye wyse, that a man shoulde deceiue himselfe, whych thinge by a pretye example *Carneades* doth admonishe vs in this wyse.

A vvise man vvil neither do yll, nor suffer any to be done by his vvyll.

If thou knewest a serpent lurking priuilye
Under a place, and wouldste haue any man:
Vnwares to sitt downe euen there presentlye,
VVhose death might redound to thy profite than.
Thou shouldest do very yll, except wyth warninge
Thou diddest dehort him thence from harminge.

A Good man is always one & the same, he neuer swarueth from himselfe, and had rather be honest in deede thẽ so to be accoũted, hee is not couered wth any cloake of dissimulatiõ, keping inwardly priuy hatred, & hartburning, & yet outwardly pretẽding a fayre face: but hath alwayes one coũtenaũce, his eyes always after one maner, his looke always one, & his speache in like maner always true.

A cittizen must alwayes beware that no notable vyce

reigne

reygne in hym: hee shall exercise those artes and sciences wherewith hee may be able to lyue honestly, wyth out iniurye and to bringe vp his familye: For hee ought to haue regard of his domesticall matters, to the ende he may helpe his chyldren, kinsfolkes, and frends: but especiallie the common weale of his countrye, when tyme shall require: for as *Cicero* sayethe, the priuate possessions & ryches of euery man, are the ryches and wealth of the citye. Let theym gayne, but withoute iniurynge or hurtinge of others: for as the Poet sayth.

The citizē carefull for himself and his family

Goodes that are gotten by sinister meane.
Are in lyke sorte consumed agayne.

Architas of *Tarent* a noble Philosopher of *Pythagoras* secte, whe sent letters vnto *Plato*, that he shoulde beware and take heede of *Dionisius* the Tyraunt of *Syracusa*, if hee loued the sauetye of his owne lyfe: was had in admiration amongest all men, because hee was skylfull almost in all artes: this man was of suche dexterity of wytte, that he made & framed by a certayn wonderfull reason, & artificiall worckemanshippe the proporcion and Image of a Doue, which Doue as *Fauorinus* the philosopher reporteth did flye: it was contriued wyth such equall peyze or waygh te, and in the same was a wynde enclosed, whyche wyth a temperate spiryte, caused it to flye.

Prayse of Africanus for his bountie.

Amongest the most noble prayses of *Affricanus*, whereof both *Polibius* and other wryters made mention: Thys one was accoũpted great, that he daylye went downe into the iudgement hall, & from thence did not returne homewardes agayne, vntyll hee had gratified and done good, to some one or other: And *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian* (who after his father was Emperour of Rome three yeares) was of suche gentle, & curteous nature, that at supper time remembringe that hee had pleasured and done good to none that daye, sayde these woordes: Frendes

Prayse of Tit' Vespasianus.

this

this daye haue I lost.

It shalbe the dutie of a ciuill man to vse liberalitye, & franckenes, in gratifying w requitall and thanckes vnto others, and neuer to forget a good turne receyued: which respecte of curtesye was so highly in the olde tyme regarded, ỳ not only persons lyuing, but euen the very persons already dead could not neglect it: For *Simonides* the Poete, seeinge as hee iourneyed, a certayne man (vnknowen to him) lyinge dead & cast out vnto the byrdes, and beastes of the fielde, dyd streight waye burye him, but when hee came to the place where he thought in his mynde to haue taken shippinge, hee then agayne sawe in his dreame, the same partye whom hee had buryed, warninge him not to enterprise his voyage as hee had determined: for if hee dyd, he tolde him that night he should suffer shipwracke: when *Simonides* had tolde his dreame vnto his companyons, they laughed hym to scorne, and hee alone remained on the shoare, the rest of his other companions not credityinge his wordes: but assone as the Shyppe was gone a lyttle from the lande, there arose a tempest incontinente, that brake al their tackling, and al to squatted their ship, that they were drowned euerye mothers Sonne: And so *Simonides*, for the good turne that he dyd in buryinge the deade man, receyued thereby the benefite and sauegarde of his lyfe.

Liberality and thankfulnes.

Gratitude.

Let euerye good Cittizen take heede, that hee bee not founde a blabbe, or lyer in his talke: for to lye is the propertie rather of a seruile, then of a free mynde: for Aristotle verye pretelye to a certaine person, demaundinge him, what Lyers gayned by their lyinge? aunswered: that they cannot be beleeued an other tyme when they tel truth: but yet it is a far worse thinge for any man to forsweare himselfe: which fault was so odible among the Egiptiãs, ỳ all periured persõs suffered punishmẽt of death as they which neyther regarded religiõ towards god nor fayth towards mã: let the honest citizẽ moreouer bridle in

Periurye.

himselfe

himſelfe a certayne brayneſicke ſawcineſſe, and brablinge in ſpeach: for as it is a prayſe to ſpeake lyuely and boldly if at any tyme a man haue neede to ſpeake: ſo is it worthy of diſprayſe not to haue a ſtaye of the tongue if ſilence bee neceſſarye: for *Cato* in his adoleſcencie ſtudying eloquẽce and Philoſophie, vſed a certayne wonderfull ſilence of ſpeach, and when on a tyme a certayne familier frende of his ſayde vnto him: *Cato*, many men do finde faulte with thy ſilence, hee aunſweered ſayinge, I wyll then ſpeake when I haue throughly learned to ſpeake ſuche thinges as are not worthy of ſilence.

Raſhe ſpeache

Pythagoras alſo the moſt wyſe prince of Italique Philoſophie, taught his ſcholars to be ſilent before he taught theym to ſpeake, thereby ſhewinge, that a mannes wordes are firſt to bee premeditate or thought vpon, ere they be vttered. For to bridle, and reſtrayn the tongue, which nature (meaninge Scilence) hath walled aboute wyth a trenche of teethe, is a poynte of no ſmall wyſdome: therefore the ſayde Philoſopher reſtrayned talckatiue younge men, enioyning vnto ech of them fiue yeares ſilence.

Cato vſed reſtraint of ſpeache.

Silence.

Ariſtotle when he ſent his ſcholar and kinſeman *Caliſthenes* vnto king Alexander among many other precepts gaue him this one, that hee ſhoulde vſe to ſpeake verye ſeeldome, but yet verye pleaſauntlye before him, that had both the power of lyfe and death, in the ſharpenes of his tounge: ſuch perſons alſo as haue diligently ſearched the natures of lyuing creatures, doe wryte that certayne lyuing creatures lacking reaſon, do maintayn their ſauetye with muche ſilence: As geeſe whiche by reaſon of too muche beate forſakinge the eaſte, and flyinge weſtward, in their flyght ouer the hyll *Taurus*, where many Eagles breede (which rauenous foules they greatlye dreade) doe vſe to fyll their beakes wyth little ſtones, leaſte that the force of cuſtome, or neceſſitie ſhoulde moue them to gaggle, and there bewray themſelues vnto the Eagles, to the greate hazarding of their lyues: but after they haue ſilẽtly paſ-

Ariſtotles aduiſe to Caliſthenes touchinge ſilence.

lye passed the toppe of that mountayn and bylles thereabout: they let fall the little stones oute of their bylles, & with a more careless flight, bolde on their course alonge the ayre with loude noyse, and farre clearer voyces: Let therefore the Cittizen learne to keepe silence and to consider with whom hee doth talke, and let him observe opportunity in speache: for sure according to the old prouerbe: A worde once past, cannot be called backe. And therefore let them rather vse the example of the Geese, then of *Calisthenes*: for they by a little silence saued their lyues, but this man euen with a small libertie of speache loste the same, when as he would not geeue eare vnto the sayinge of his good mayster: for greater is the prayse of a seasonable silence, then of talke out of due tyme vsed.

And furthermore let the good cittizen be ignoraunt in glosing and flattring: for neyther can the glosers or flatterers in any respect profite eyther kings or princes. And true is that sentence of *Quintus Curtius* mentioned in his most excellent bookes of the Actes of Alexander, where hee saythe. Flattery muste be eschevved.

More often is a kingdome spoyld through clawbacks flattery:
Then by mayne force of forreyne foe, or homish enemye.

Aristippus the Philosopher did earnestlye sue to *Dyonisius* the Tyraunt for a certayn thing in the behalfe of hys frende: which when he saw he could not obteyn, streight waye he humblie embraced the Tyrauntes knees, and by and by obteyned his desire: and when this thinge was laide in his dishe for a reproche (by suche persons as were present) he pleasauntly sayd these wordes: I was not the author of this kynde of flatterye, but *Dyonisius* himselfe, who hath his eares in his knees: and *Diogenes* being demaūded what Beast did byte cruellest, merely aūswered, Diogenes.

Of wylde beastes a backebyter,
Of tame beastes a flatterer.

For in deede flatterers do very muche hurt not onelye amongest princes whome they do prouoke to tyranny and crueltie, but also in a free cittye oftentimes (to creepe into the fauour of the common people) do geeue aduise vpō thinges whiche are against a common weale, & now and than, make the foolish multitude of people starke mad.

Hurt of flatterers.

Moreouer let not a good citizen bee hastye, or rashe to anger: let him at no tyme speake anye thinge in chydinge moode or rage: for anger procedeth of the weakenes of mannes mynde, and that by a probable argument or reason is shewed: because angrye persons are, to them that be in good case, fayntye and colde, vnto men they are women, to youngmen olde men, and to persons in prosperitie, miserable: yet notwithstandinge manye things are now and than done by anger, whiche in the ende (after the parties haue paused, and come to theimselues) doe make theym sorowfull and repentaunt of that whiche they haue sayde and done: *Alexander* oftentimes shewed examples of an inuincible mynde, but because hee was rashe and hasty to anger, hee emblemished and made his other vertues in some parte more obscure: for hee kylled *Clitus* his frende beinge an aged man, and giltlesse: and a little while after, when hee was come to himselfe agayne, hee would haue thrust the weapō which hee toke out of *Clitus* his wound into his own body, had it not bene for his friendes, that were then about him.

Rasnnes of anger.

Inconuenīece of anger.

Example of furious anger in Alexander.

Dyonisius also the Tyraunte (beinge on a tyme dysposed to play at ẏ Tenys) layd down his coate and sword wa young man to keepe, in whom he tooke great delite: here at whā as a certain familier of his (iestinglye & thincking no harme) sayd: *Dyonisius*, thou puttest thy lyfe into this mannes handes, and the young man laughing at the same words, the Tyraunt cōmaunded both of them out of hand to be slain: ẏ one because he had shewed a way to kyl him, and the other because he allowed and tooke pleasure with laughter at ẏ saying: for ẏ which act certainly he was afterwardes

Dyonisius.

terwardes so sory, that hee neuer tooke anye thing more greuously in all the dayes of his lyfe: For in such kynde of anger when the mynd is kyndled and enraged, we must surceasse from all manner of dealinges, tyll the heate of choler be asswaged, following herein the example of *Architas*, who being on a time somewhat moued with anger towardes his Seruaunt, saide these woordes: with what mynde should I entreate the, or how would I deale with thee now if I were not angrye?

Not good to doe any thing vvhile anger lasteth.

Hovv Architas qualified his anger.

Demasthenes that most excellēt Oratour seing ẏ nature & disposition of *Phocion*, which was of contrary opiniō to al other citizens of Athens, sayd on a tyme to him: *Phociō* ẏ Athenians wil kyll the, if a madnes once take them in ẏ heads, to whō *Phociō* answered: nay they wil kill thee *Demosthenes* if they euer chāce to be wise. Furthermore a ciuil mā ought so to dispose & frame al ẏ ages of his time ẏ in euery one of thē he may exercise hīselfe in ẏ which shal then best become him, neyther let him do any such things in his childhoode or youth, wherof he may afterwards repent whē he is growen to further yeares: on ẏ other part to omit nothing which he ought to bring to passe at those yeares: For in Childehoode is praysed that towardnesse of Wyt, whiche foreshewth hope of honeste lyfe in tyme to come: In Adolescencie Disciplines of good Artes: wherin, who so excel, do seeme presently righte excellente men: then in the reste of the Ages of man, the fruictes of woorkes are looked for: that is to say, some conformitie of sayinges and doinges: agayne on the other part, a chyld is commended for simplicitie, a young man for gētlenes, and an olde man for grauity: in which poynt there is muche amisse euē at those first yeares which are more apt for learninge, which surely many in playinge and lewdnesse, do lose: for growinge to bigger stature for shamefastenesse they are ashamed to learne, whereas rather they ought to bee ashamed to be ignoraunte: Undoubtedlye that is true whiche was holden as a Prouerbe amongest the auncient learned men.

So long our ſelues to learn we muſt employe.
As in this worlde wee any lyfe enioye.

Yet notwithſtandinge there are ſome whiche wyll not ſticke to mocke and floute men that are geuen to ſtudye, & learninge in that age.

Themiſtocles the Athenian, a moſt excellent gentlemã, being an hundreth and ſeuen yeares olde, and perceyuing that hee muſt then needes departe oute of this worlde, is reported to haue ſayde that hee was verye ſorye that hee muſt then dye when he firſt beganne to taſte of learninge and wyſedome: what then ſhall others doe, whoſe lyfe is farre ſhorter & leſſe exerciſed in ſtudies of good diſcipline? ſeeinge that hee whiche had runne beyonde the boũdes of nature, did thincke himſelfe not to haue lyued any longe tyme, to thattayninge of perfect wyſedome.

Manns age by the opinion of Philoſophers.

The longeſt ſpace of mannes lyfe whiche by his byrthe and death is defined, ſome haue runne in longe race, and ſome in a ſhorte. *Plato* affirmeth that Lxxxi. yeares is the laufull bounde, and ende of mannes lyfe: *Solon* affirmeth lxxx. yeares iumpe, many threeſcore & fyftene: & ſome the threeſcore & tenth yeare: for they do deuide our age, or tyme of lyfe by the number of ſeauen, whereunto the *Pythagorians* attribute a certayne perfection, and doe ſhewe, that in euerye ſeuen yeares, ſome chaunge and alteracion happeth in the bodyes of men: wherfore they affirme that euery ſeuenth yeare of our life is daungerous, whiche the Grecians call κρισιμον, The Latines *Iudiciale ſeu decretorium*, Judiciall or decretorye: and this do they ſhewe by this meanes. Firſt becauſe in the fyrſt ſeauen yeares childrens teeth fall out or do lowſe, geuinge place to other teeth commynge vp more fitte, and readye to chawe the meate: and at that tyme the perfect pronunciation of their mother tongue is perfect and playne: In ỳ ſecond ſeuenth yeare the ſoft haires or moſtneſſe in yong Springalds appearethe, in the thirde the Beard be-

Manns age deuided by ſeuen yeares.

gynneth

ginneth to burgein and grow, and is the full accomplishment of height in mannes stature: in the fowerth hee begynneth to spreade and enlarge in breadth and thickenes of stature: In the fyfthe the strength of man is fully perfected and made ryper & able for the procreation of Issue: In the sixte man stayeth his pleasure and voluptuousnes: and in the seauenth resteth wysedome and eloquence, yet nowe his strength doth by little and little secretely decay. And in the eight there is a certayne continuitie or aptnes of the vertues of the mynde, which remaynyeth in ỳ ninth septenarie or seuen yeares: finally in the tenth by lytle & little he groweth towardes his ende.

Pythagoras sayde that fowerscore yeares was the prefixed tyme for the lengthe of lyfe, and deuideth it in ages by twentye, allottinge vnto childehoode twenty yeares, to adolescencie as many: as many to youth, to manhode other twenty, and to old age as many, comparing mãns lyfe vnto the fower seasons or quarters of the yeare: As to the spring, chyldehoode: to sommer youthe. To Autume manhoode, and vnto winter olde age: But *Varro* a most excellent Philosopher amonge the Latines, thinketh that chyldrens age continueth tyll they bee fyftene yeares olde, bycause so longe they are *Impuberes*: that is to saye vnhearye and not apt to generation, from thence tyll thyrtie they are counted young men or lusty youthes, because the bodye doth growe lustye large and strong tyl ỳ age: vntill the age of xlv. they are called men, bycause at that age they are best able to defend and helpe their cõmon meale with armoure and weapons: Tyll threescore yeares they are called graue and auncient, because then especiallye mannes bodye beginneth to drawe towardes olde age: and from thence, vntill thende of echo mannes lyfe, hee affirmeth the fifthe degree to reache: vnto the whiche age who so doth attayn, he calleth them very old men, because then the Bodye becommeth vnwieldye, by reason of age: but *Strabo* the Neapolitane, an excellent Phi-

Mannes life deuided into fovver equal nũbers compared to the fovver seasons of the yeare.

Children.

Yongmen.

Manhode.

Oldemen.

Extreeme olde age.

Philosopher in his time and a rare Phisitiō determineth and concludeth mannes lyfe at lxxiiii. yeares.

We ought not to desire to liue long, no not although the destinies do seeme to smyle vpon vs, or to fauour oure peticions. by reason of the sundrye chaunces of fortune, & doubtfull healthe of our bodye: for a certayne wiseman, beinge demaunded how longe a man shoulde wish to liue, made this aunswere: so long as the commodities of thys lyfe be mo then the discommodities thereof.

Man may not wyish for long lyfe.

Theophrastus (as *Cicero* sayth) was wont to accuse nature, for that shee had geeuen vnto Crowes and Hartes, longe lyfe, whose lyfe was altogether vnprofitable, and vnto men very short and swyfte, who both might benefite theymselues and others, if they might haue tyme of lyfe fully to drincke of wysdomes Well.

Possidonius a notable Philosopher sayd, that one day of a learned mans tyme, was more worth then neuer so longe an age of the ignorannt: let therefore our ciuill man liue very moderately, & let his dyet & table fare be accordinge to frugality, and temperaunce: for intemperancye & gurmaundise enfebleth the bodye and dulleth the mynde: for as temperancie maketh a man long young, & preserueth the bodye in healthe and good lykinge, so the other dothe hasten olde age before the tyme, & maketh the body weak, taketh away coloure, and cheerefulnes of countenaunce: for it is true whiche was wont to bee in this respect, euen by the Phisicians themselues, that:

Moderatiō in dyet.

Many mo persons by glotony are slayne,
Then are by warre, famine, or any other payne.

Gourmandise surphet and belly cheare.

For men not able fully to digeste that whiche they receiue into their stomacks, are geuē to be of vnlusty health, they are euermore sick, seldom whole, & sone com to their end: and furdermore ther is no goulfe or whirlpole whiche doth more swallow vp & waste a mannes substaunce, then gluttonye, which the more it is filled and fed, ꝑ more is it styll an hungered, and the better it hath dyned, the more

more it studieth and takes care how to suppe: There are surely no ryches so large and copious, no household treasure so notable, nor wealthe so greate, whiche in a small tyme are not swalowed vp into the bellye.

Diogenes on a tyme readinge in a paper set on the doze of a certayne ryotous person, that was dziuen to sell hys house, merilye and pleasauntly sayde these wozdes. Ryotous persons.

I well perceiued this building sumptuous,
Beset wyth wyne, and cates so curious,
Would vomite out his maister shortlye
That kept such reuell rexe through follye.

Glotony doth not onely waste & consume the substance, but dzingeth very many Gentlemen into seruitude: do we not see ẏ smelfeastes, and ieasters, become perpetual bõd slaues foz their bellies sake? are there not manye whych as it were buye their dynner and supper not onelye wyth flattringe seruices, but also wyth moste vyle and absurde offices? foz whom it were a great deale better to feede vp on the very maste & Acoznes shaken from the tree, & to liue wyth wylde beries & apples, then at another mannes table to be fed with peacocke & the dayntie Acipencer. Surely greately are they to bee blamed, which sekee thẽ selues maisters foz good cheare sake, forgetting the state of Lybertie. Smelfeastes.

Albidius a certayne citizen of Rome deuoured & consumed all his goodes oz substance in eatinge and dzinking, & finally euen ẏ very house it selfe, wherein he dwelt, which was then euen all the substãce he had left) was by casualtie of fyze consumed & dzent: this thing when *Cato* heard of, he spoztingly sayd: that *Albidius* had sacrificed his rẽnaunts and fragmentes: by the which saying *Cato*, quipped the glotony of the sayde *Albidius*, and shewed ẏ therby he was become an open pzaye, and laughing stock vnto foztune: foz ẏ thinge which he could not eate, hee burned. Prodigality & ryot of Albidius.

And

And that whiche he could not reuell, deuour, and swyll, þ had bee committed into the handes of Fortune to sporte wythall.

Exercise is called the best sauce for meate, and hunger is coumpted a delicate or daynty dishe fynely sawced, for the prouocations of glottonye and curious cates and iunkettes, sought for both out of the ayre, the heauens, earth and the Sea, doe not sauoure or relice, better wyth an yole slouthfull person, then bread doth wyth him that laboureth and is an hungered: *Ptolomeus* the kynge wanderinge throughe Egipt, and his souldiers hauinge not ouertaken hym wyth victuels, beynge verye hungrye, dyd eate course bread (which he gotte out of a shepehardes cottage) greedely, & with greate appetite: swearing, that in all his lyfe time he did neuer eate any thinge more sweete and delicate then that bread was: Also *Darius* flyinge from Alexander (beinge sore athirste) did with great lust and greedines drincke muddye and troubled water, taken out of the next ryuer, whiche was sopped and stenched wyth dead carcases throwen into it, sayinge that hee neuer tasted any thinge sweeter in all his lyfe.

Exercise and labour a good sauce for meat.

Darius.

A certayne swyllinge dronckarde geuen to gullinge, & quaffinge, was wont to say in sporte, that hee neuer thursted bycause hee did with oftentimes drinckinge preuente his thirst: But the ciuil man must expect and looke, that nature wyl require meat, which (by walking, labouring, & exercisinge himselfe) is to bee prouoked: by the exãple of *Socrates* the Philosopher, whõ on a tyme walkinge, a certayne man asked why he so did, he aunswered:

Good vvay to procure a stomacke.

VVith walkinge, honger buy would I fayne
Good appetite, for my supper to gayne.

The auncient Romaynes for no other cause vsed to sup in their open courtes, & vnder the open ayre: but to the entent to shew their continencie, and frugalitye, vnto the people

people whose care and studie, was not so greate to pester their table with manye dishes, as it was afterwardes to their posteritie: for the Epicure who was the auoucher, and meinteyner of pleasures, dispised fine and dayntie dilicates, and filled the barkes of trees, which hee vsed for dishes, wyth Herbes and Apples, and woulde saye that a man shoulde feede vppon homely meate, because they are the more easely to bee had: for delicate dishes and exquisite wythes are prepared and dressed with great care, and excessiue coste, and do make a greater griefe & trouble before a man can fynde theym forth, then they bringe pleasure in eatinge. *Hippocrates* also wryteth, that such persons as are carefull for Gluttonye and Bellycheare, are neuer in sound healthy, neyther can be long lyued, and that their spirites are so incombred with to much bloud, and too much cramminge, as if they were wallowed and soused in the myre: and therfore they haue no mynde vpō any sober or heauenly thinge, but alwayes frame theymselues to thincke vpon their dishes, and how they may fill their bellies: It is a thing profitable so to dispose ỳ minde with somthinx, that thereby at all tymes & seasons, fruites may be had and reaped: for fewe thinges can be wantinge for dayly expences vnto a ciuil man, if hee will haue diligente care, to looke to his husbandrye, and the feedinge of his cattle: a very meane diligence wherein, *Cato* sayde did encrease, a mannes substaunce: neyther ought any man to be ashamed to fede flocks of beasts or heards of cattle, for euen most noble persons of all the auncieme people afore tyme, did vse to feede and keepe Cattle.

Epicure.. Bellygods.

Husbandrye purueyghour of many neces. saries.

Let banquettinge be seeldome haunted of a good citizen: for it is vncertayn whether the same banquets purchase a mā fauour or displeasure: for although those that are bidden guestes, bee bound to requite the same wᵗ like agayn, yet there are many whiche beinge neglected and vnbidden do take disdayne thereat, and practise againste the same eyther reproche or Iniurye: for, to keepe Ban-

Banqueting.

kettes or feastes is thought to belonge vnto kinges, prin-
ces, and most wealthiest personages.

Ryot and couetousnes, are two plagues which (as *Ti-*
Ryot and couetousnes two plagues. *tus Liuius* sayth) haue oftentimes subuerted, and vtterlye
destroyed, whole cities and Empyres.

Let the good Citizen keepe a meane in his apparell, & obserue a measure in his degre & ability: for in deede, as it is a fowle thinge to weare yll fauoured and vndecente garmentes, so is it subiect to enuye, to weare that whiche is to gorgious and fine, and especially, when as a mannes substance will not stretche to mainteyn the same, or wher as hee beinge indebted to others, braues it oute vppon other menns purses: for in apparel this is to be consider-
ed ỳ a man weare nothing but such as he may lawfully,
Manner of apparel. and that it doe not differ from the customable order, and vsage of his country: let it be suche as may become both the person that weareth it, his stocke, & kynred, his yearees and manners: for as fine braue apparell (so far forth as it becõmeth) doth adde dignity & authority vnto mẽ: so nyce, womanish, & ryotous apparell, doth not cõmend & set out the body, but discouereth the vanitie of ỳ mynde. *Adrianꝰ Cæsar* herin purchased to himself prayse because hee ordayned ỳ the Senators, & the worshipfull persõs of Rome, should not goe abrode, but in their gownes, except when they returned home from suppers.

All necessarie expences, are to be restrayned, as ỳ charges of funeralles, whiche bring no commodity to those ỳ are dead, & are chargeable to thẽ that are aliue: and yet their fame and good report which liued with prayse, & honestye is not darkned with modest funeral ceremonies: but on ỳ
Vnnecessarye expences must be forborne. Funeralles, other part their funeral põpe, shal not make the memory of them to be famous among posterity, whose life hauing bene lose, and inglorious, hath lefte nothinge behind thẽ worthy of memory.

Cyrus king of Persia commaunded by his last wyl and testament, ỳ there should beno other Sepulchre or tombe

erected

erected for him, then the earth onely which brought forthe grasse, & flowers, then which there can nothinge be founde more noble, neyther any thing that may more beautifye ỳ graue: surely me thinkes the reason of ỳ auncient Egiptians is to bee perpended, whereof *Dyodorus* maketh mention, because they dispisinge ỳ tyme of this present lyfe, did call their dwelling houses, by the names of Janes as the which they coumpted their harbours and lodginges. for a small tyme, but most baynlye and fondlye they lashed out luskely, and spared no coste, in erecting of sumptuous Tōbes, & burialls: for they thought that the graues were ỳ perpetuall & euerlasting dwelling places of them ỳ dyed, and were therein buried.

Costly funeralles of the Egiptians reproued.

The *Scythians* (as *Plutarch* mencioned) did burie wyth their dead kings, their butlers, cookes, yea and harlotts: to that end as I thincke, ỳ their kings should want no necessarie seruice after they were dead: and certayne countries of *India* with their dead husbandes, eyther burne or burie their beloued wiues, or others whōsoeuer they best loued in their life time: Oh a matter not only horrible in sight, but also to be spokē of, to kill a lyuing man, because the dead man should not lacke a frend or seruaunte, when as in deede he can neuer want or stand in nede of any such, who hath no feeling at all.

Scythians absurd maner of burying their kinges.

Indiās sauage maner in burialles.

Little differeth from this madnes of the Indians, the people called *Massageta*, and those called *Derbites*, which do kil their kinsfolkes & friends, whē they waxe old, or by any casualtie draw neare vnto death, makīg therat great solempnitie & feasting, and there eate them together with other meate: and this they saye they doe, because they suppose it to be the worst fortune that may happen vnto men, to be deuoured with wormes.

Essedones philosophers of Europe, which dwelling neare to the ryuer *Danow*, vsed to celebrate ỳ funeralls of their Parentes, and neighbours, with mery cheare, and iocund reioysing of their frendes and familiers together: ỳ dead

corses being mangled & mixed with the intrayles of their slayne beasts, they doe feede vpon, & eate vp in bāqueting: but the Heades, or Skulles, of their deade Bodies, they keepe to serue theym in steede of Drinckinge Cuppes, garnishing theym with golde and siluer.

Semiramis.

Semiramis a Queene of a most haughty, and excellente mynde, causing a sumptuous Sepulchre or Tombe, for her to be made, wherin shee would lye after her death, cōmaunded these wordes to be engrauen thereuppon:

What king so euer shal haue nede
of mony, wealth, or treasure,
Let him pul ope this tombe with spede,
and take thereof at pleasure.

Couetousnes.

These wordes *Darius* the king reading, and thinkinge there had bene treasures hid there in deede, commaunded the stone of the Tombe to bee taken away, whiche beinge rowlled aside, he saw other wordes ingraued vnto this effect and purpose:

Except thou haddest beene a kinge couetous
Of mony: insaciable, and desirous,
Thou woldest neuer haue broke vp, and violate
The graues of them, that are extinct by fate.

Couetusnes of king Darius reproued.

This most excellent Ladye by a ciuil derision, did thus taunt the vyce of couetousnes.

Sertorius hauing won *Thynge*, a towne in *Mauritia* where (as thinhabitants sayd) the noble Sepulchre of *Antheus* was being of wonderful yea incredible greatnesse, gaue cōmaundement that it should be razed and throwen to the ground, and therin founde a bodye of lxx. cubites long (as *Plutarch* maketh mention) which he beholding, meruayled greatly thereat, and commaudēd ꝑ the same Tombe should be streightway reedified and restored, & greatlye enryched the same thereof, least otherwise hee should haue emblemished his honoure, by defacinge and violating, so notable a monumente.

Monument reuerently preserued.

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The

THE SIXT BOOKE ENtreatinge of Nobilitie defined by the opinion of Philosophers, the commendation of their bountifulnes, liberalitie, and franckneſſe towardes all men: how ſome are thoughte meete to ſupplye functions, by reaſon of their Auncestors before time authoriſed to beare like offices: of good prouiſiõ for the ſuſtẽtation of the cõmons: Of ſuch as hauing houſes in the citye, and alſo in the country, cannot be ſo carefull, for the common vtilitye of both places. The diſcription of the venemous vyce Enuie: of ſeuere Iuſtice vppon malefactors, iniurious to the ſtate of the commonweale.

HIPPODAMVS *Myleſius* a man deſirous of glorye, a worthy warriour, & excellentlye well learned in the ſtudies of good artes, purpoſing to write of the good eſtate of a common weale, firſt & eſpecially, thought it conuenient and neceſſarye to deuide and diſtinguiſhe the cittye and countrye in ſeueral: for it ſemed vnto him a thing very hard to compaſſe, to make a common rable and multitude of men gathered together within the walls of one citye, to lyue quietly together, excepte there were aſeperation made betweene theym: therefore hee diſtributed and deuided the people into three ſortes, one to be Artificers, another huſbandemen, and the thirde warriours: and he thoughte it good reaſon that the magiſtrates ſhould be appointed and choſen by all theſe perſons indifferentlye.

Cicero vnto *Saluſt* who taunted him as a newe made Cittyzen, and one come of baſe Degree, boaſtinge himſelfe to bee of moſte noble diſſente aunſwered on this maner: I haue by my vertue, worthynes, and ſeruice to my countrey Cicero and Saluſt at diſſention.

my countrye shyned before, and geeuen lighte to all myne auncestors, ꝑ if they were not knowne before, they mighte yet of me receyue a beginninge of theyr memory: thou by meanes of thy lewde lyke whiche thou hast leade filthelye, hast vnto thy auncestors, brought great cloudes of darcknesse, so that although they of thēselues, were famous & notable citizēs, yet by meanes of the, they shalbe brought into obliuiō: wherfore do not thou obiect vnto me men of auncient race: for it is better, ꝑ I do florishe in mine owne actes that I haue done, thē to leane vpon the reputacion of auncestrie, & so to lyue that I may be an originall or beginning of nobilitye, and an example of vertue vnto al my posterity: for *Cicero* might wel bring proofe of ꝑ progenye or offspring of his nobility, because he was lyneally descended of the *Volscian* kinges.

Cicero his aūswere vnto Salust.

Plato wyselt of all Philosophers, and his followers (frō whom *Aristotle* doth small differ, maketh four kindes of nobility: ꝑ 1. was of thē which proceded frō noble stocke and auncient race of honorable elders: the second was of thē, whose parēts were mē of authority, princs, or chief rulers: the iii. was of thē whose rulers excelled others in any kind of notable prayse or cōmendaciō, eyther at home or abrode in the warres: the iiii. kinde of nobility, he maketh that, which he sheweth to be moste excellente of all ꝑ reste, when as anye man excelleth others, eyther in worthynes, wysoome, or magnanimitie of the mynde, & leaneth onely to the vertue of his owne cōmendation: And this man he iudgeth worthy to bee coumpted noble, whō not other mēns worthines ennobleth, but whom his proper vertue and valiauntnes, doth aduaunce to honour and renowme: but vnto these fower kindes of nobilitie, *Aristotle* also added the v. ꝑ is of them which famously excelled in any notable discipline: & this did he by good right: for they ther by do not only ennoble themselues, and their lignage, but likewise ennoble the Cities, and countries wherein they were borne.

Nobility.

Iuba the sonne of *Iuba* kinge of *Numidia*, beinge but a

childe, & taken prisoner by *Iulius Cæsar*, did folow his triũphe into Africa: and although he had lost both kingdom & libertie, & also despoyled of his honour & dignitye, yet hee betoke himselfe vnto learning, & within a small time, proued so well, that hee was coumpted amongest the best learned writers in Greece: and whatsoeuer nobility Fortune had taken frõ him, ẏ same did the discipline of good sciences, more abundantly restore in him: wherunto also *Hanniball* gaue himselfe, euen in the desperate and troublesome broyles of the *Carthaginenses*, & being somwhat aged in yeares, did learne the greeke tounge and therein became so eloquent, ẏ he wrate the actes of certayn Emperours, and certayn excellent bookes of the orderinge of warfare & martiall affayres.

Example of Iuba.

It seemeth mete that they, whose parents, graũdsires, and auncestors haue afore time bene honored, and endowed wyth publique offices, shoulde also haue charge of the common weale, as it were by a certayne rightfull inheritaunce: & therupon let them employ all their diligence, & care: for as a field is very well committed into the handes of country borne persons, which know, and can skil of the ayre and soyle: euen so they that are come of ẏ race of Senatours, haue learned to execute those publique offices, as it were by naturall discipline, deuised to them by their auncestrye: for al the common people wil beare and obey more willingly & patiently, their rule or auctthority, neyther think they it amisse, for ẏ son to beare office, whẽ they call to mynd that all his ancestours haue executed ẏ same offyce aforetime. They whiche beare rule in a common weale ought to haue a diligent care, that the people be not oppressed, pinched, & famished w̃ want of corne or grayne, & ẏ they mai (as far as is possiible) enioy a perfect peace & tranquillity: for surely all common people (although thei be ready, & prõpt to reuengement of wrongs, for ẏ whiche it is sene now & thẽ, ẏ they do enter into armes & warres: yet notw̃stãding, they expect som euẽt & ende, & if fortune

Succession of offices.

fauor

fauour theym not, they fall to brablinge with their Rulers, by ſwearing, wreſting, and turninge all the faulte in their neckes: and more ouer we muſt not raſhly credit the opinion & rumour of the cõmon people, for as *Maro* ſaith:

Scinditur incertum ſtudia in contraria vulgus.

The cõmunaltie vnſtable, is diſperſt in opinions variable.

The opinions of which common people, are ſlippery, wauering & mutable, & not only for a day but not ſo muche as for one houre, ſtedfaſt & firme: wherfore it may bee ſpokẽ of ẏ cõmon people which we do vſe in ẏ prouerbe.

Of Sand an infinite quantitie take,
And yet vnpoſſible it is a coarde to make.

The ſpiritualtye ought to be mayntayned by the lyuinges of the Churche.

Religion, ceremonies, myſteries, and al deuine honor whereby we make the liuinge God mercifull, and at one with vs, requireth men holy and innocent: who beinge indowed with the zealous ſtudie of ſacred and deuine ſcriptures, do wype away the cloudes of blyndenes and error, from the eyes of men: for theſe men (to the end, they may lyue modeſtlye and keepe in good order, the temples & ſacred houſes, wᵗ great coſtes & charges, edified) haue neede of wealth, ryches, and fruites of the earthe, whiche in deede do neuer or ſeldome fayle, neyther haue they neede to make any marchaundize, by buying and ſellinge.

Pouertie not relieued.

Without ſauegardes, and defenders of the ſame, a cõmon weale cannot be. For what ſhould the Citizens doe within the walles, if they had no other defence, but within the walles of their Cytye? In what wealth doth that Citty ſtand, or how are the poore relieued there, whereunto the huſbandmen of the countrye do runne for ſuccoure, when as in the fieldes adiacente, there is feare on euerye ſide? In what hope, or in what diligence, do the huſbandmen toyle or moyle, if they ſee their Sommer, or harueſt corne, and fruictes to become an open praye or ſpoyle, for the enemie: and without keepers geeue ouer all thinges in their fieldes vnto Fortune in euery place.

Huſbandmen.

The corne whiche is reaped, in the cõmon fieldes, may be

bee kept and reserued, vntill such tyme as there happen a dearthe or scarsitie, or that the difficultie of warre doe vrge, in hollow trenches couered in chaffe, and very wel fenced and made safe from all and euery kynde of vermin for seuen yeares store, as *Lucius Columella* maketh mention: which thing surely if it were diligently looked vnto, and that in his due season the olde frute were spent, and the new fruict laid vp in store, it should preserue the people from all siege and famin of the enemie. and with most safe and sure defence protecte theim from the annoyaunce of their enemies: for litle prevayleth armour or weapons of defence in fight, where the people do famishe, for want of sustentation: and a famished communaltie is euermore studious, and bent to newfanglenesse and tumulte.

Hee that wyll haue a well tylled grounde, let him sell his houses in the cittie: for hee that taketh more pleasure or felicitye to dwel in his house within the Cittye, then in his house in the countrie, hath no neede at al of any ground: for he cannot well handle ciuile affayres, which taketh especiall pleasure in husbandrye, and countrye dealinges: for truely it cannot bee but hee muste needes neglect the one of these twayne, which coueteth to satisfie his minde with both these benefites. A good citizē a good husband.

Gardens planted with herbes & trees, be made for pleasure and recreation: for in thē are borders of Roses, beddes of violettes, Fishepondes, and suche other like commodities of pleasure: for Graners, Barnes, and store-Houses, wherein Corne is layde, whyche doe encrease bothe profite and liuinge vnto manne, doe rather serue for the maisters wealth, then for his diligence: yet notwithstanding it shall not bee impertinent for a Citizen or ciuile person to haue pleasure, and practise in husbandry. Gardens and Orchardes.

And as hee growethe in more wealthe, to haue manye seruauntes for the orderinge of his husbandrie, and suche as bee mere straungers, borne out of that countrye (vnto whome hee may prescribe thoffices of that which pertayneth

neth vnto husbandrye.

Merchaunt straungers how they are to be entertayned in a cittye

Straungers and forreyners beinge merchauntes, are friendly to be entertayned when they come into the citye for good and honest purposes: for the Societies, and entercourses of traffique with straūgers, helpe the trade of merchandise among citizens, & do make them wealthier and furnish the cittie with store of that, which it wanteth, & carryeth away from hence those things, wherof we haue superfluous store and abundaunce: yet is it expedient, that there should be but few of them denized with the freedom of the citye: for certaynly the multitude of Inhabitaunts oute of sundrie places is daungerous, in euerye nacion: for the common people, gathered together out of sundrye countries, seldom agree well, and there can scarce be vnitye or concorde, among men of sundrye nacions: and wee may well so thincke that straungers, will but a while cōtinue in that zeale & good wil, or natural affection, which free borne people do, that haue receyued from their Auncestors as it were ỹ seede of loue towardes their coūtrey, & haue euen wᵗ their mothers milke, a tender good wil & affection towards their citizēs. Of the true citizens that may bee spoken, whiche in louely speache, wyues are wōt to complayne sayinge:

True Citizens

A Louer that already hath fixt his good wyll
Towardes one, cannot be lured by good or by yll:
Entyste by flattring speach, nor vrgde so that end,
To chaunge for a new, and forget his first frend.

So greatly is the loue of our natural country engrafted in vs, euen by nature, that wee cannot want or be without the same, for any contynuaunce of time or distaunce of places, for no reproches, neyther yet for anye iniuries. Therefore wee must warely deale with straungers: For *Aristotle* affirmethe that all Nacions whiche retayned many straungers, and Inhabitantes of forrein countreis

Straungers.

to be resident among thē, were disquieted with disordes.

We must especially take hede that nothing be done, in the cōmon weale by violence or fraud: for what things so euer are done by vyolence, are weake & vnstable, & not onlye prouoketh the multitude vnto enuie, but also vnto reuenge. *Appius Claudius* the Decemuir, by violēce chalenged *Virginia* to be his bondwomā, which thing her father not suffring, thrust his daughter through the body w̄ hys sword, & with embrewed handes returned to his hoast, exciting vp the cōmon people against the Senators, which thinge brought no small plague vnto ẏ common weale. Appius Claudius.

There be some that are sorye to see others surmounte, and excell in vertue: there was sometimes amongest ẏ *Ephesians* a certayn excellent mā called *Hermodorus*, who excellig others both in learning & honesty was neuertheless banished out of his country: and vnto certayn men ẏ meruayled thereat, & asked those people why they had banished so worthy a mā, they aūswered: there was no other cause, but that in vertue, and integrity of lyfe, hee dyd to farre excell ẏ rest of his felow citizens: for vnto all good men doth euer chaunce cōmon backbyters, & euil willers: wherfore now and then we must dessemble if we desire to flye enuye: assuredly wysedome must somtime geue place vnto rashnes, for enuy doth not onely cast vnder foote verye manye notable personages, but also doth subuert the state of cities, yea & vtterly destroy the cities themselues. Repyners at others vvel doinge.

The Poets fables of Enuy are notable affirming, that it is a plague feeding vppon Serpentes: meaning thereby to shewe that enuious persons do swalow poyson, and vomite vp venime agayne: for an other mannes felicitye is poyson vnto the enuious persō: neyther can he take any ioy of himselfe, except he infect others w̄ his poyson: & certes, ther can be nothig more filthy, or more vnfitting a mā then to reioyse at an other mans euil & to bee vexed or pll apayd for other mens good fortune, both which things ẏ enuious man vseth to do. Envie described.

Tymon the Athenia̅ dyd once make an oration at Athēs in a great assēblie of people, in the which he sayd ẏ he had one only little Orcharde wherin was a great figtree, vpon which many citizens had hanged themselues, and because in that place hee purposed to buylde a wall, he sayd he must needes cut downe the same figge tree: and ẏ therfore he was come to tel them, that if any would hang thē selues, they should make haste and come quicklye, whyle the figgetree were yet standinge.

Example of envye.

Euerye man maintayneth his priuate Substaunce although it bee small: Neyther doth the poore man lesse esteeme of his small pittaunce, then the ryche of his great Wealthe: and if any Contencion happen to aryse, betweene a poore man and a ryche man, although the ryche man (in deede) be wronged, yet because hee is mightier, & wealthyer, it will be thought that he doth ẏ wrong & iniurye, and thereby purchaseth the enuye of many others: but yet if any man do saye that the poore mannes patrimonye is taken from him, by extorcion and violence, or strōg hand, euery man beginnes to feare his own case, deuyseth new fangled alterations, rayleth at his betters, fauoreth the oppressed, bendeth himselfe vnto Sedicions, and can neuer be quiet in his mynde, till hee see that he hath safelye, and warelye ynough prouided for his own safety.

Periander practised Tyrannye in *Ambracia*, and customablye cōmitted buggerye with a certayne boye, whom on a tyme as hee was Drinckinge in presence of manye others, hee merely asked whether hee was at anye tyme greate with childe by him, or no: the boy was throughlye enraged with anger, and could not abyde that those filthy thinges, which hee had suffered before, shoulde haue bene once named and spoken of: and thereupon founde he meanes, to kyll and destroye this Tyraunte. *Pausanias* also of Macedonie a youngeman in beautye and nature moste excellent, was likewise violently and forcyblye abused in his bodye by *Attalus*, and by him was made dronke with wyne

Periander a buggerer.

Pausanias.

wyne, and brought in at a banquet, and offered as a common strumpet vnto the luste of the guestes there: *Pausanias* stomacking this shamefull villanye, tolde the whole matter to kinge Philip, but the kinge with sundry delatory woordes, seemed to haue thereof no care, but rather made thereat a laughinge game, preferring *Attalus* vnto better place and rowme in warfare then hee: whiche iniury so throughly touched *Pausanias*, that he conuerted his displeasure towardes the kinge, and the reuenge whiche he could not take of his aduersarye, hee extended vpon the vnrighteous Iudge: for as he sate at the marryage of *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Attalus* betwen both the *Alexanders*, the sonne and the sonne in lawe, *Pausanias* slewe him, fearing no such matter & by killing the king turned into sorow and heauines that day which should haue bene a daye of ioye or gladnes, playnely hereby shewinge, that the complaintes of subiectes are not to bee disdayned, nor contemptuously be reiected.

Complaintes, of pore oppressed suters must not be reiected

It goeth not wel in that common weale, where a man must lyue by prayer or intreatye, where Citizens muste liue in that case, that they dare not speake frankly or boldlye those thinges whiche they thincke to be for their profite: *Philip* king of Macedonie, vnder a certayn pretence of libertie inuadinge a great part of Greece, besieged Athens, excusing himselfe by letters, and Embassadors, sent vnto the Senate and people of Athens, that hee did not those thinges, to the ende hee would take away from thē their liberties or Franchises, or to bringe the Citty into bondage, but because he had a grudge against ten of their Citizens, which in the Senate house had alwayes barcked against him, and did not ceasse to rayle vpon him with reprochfull woordes: and therefore if those fewe might be yelded vnto hym, hee sayde hee would reyse his siege and departe, and deliuer the people from warre, and famine. Namely and especially he required to haue that most excellent oratour *Demosthenes* deliuered vnto him, vppon whom

Fayre & smoth Wordes.

whom all the cõtenaunces, and fauours of the Grecians were at that time bent and cast, & beſides him nine others of ỹ eloquenteſt, & notableſt perſons, both for talke & authoritye: hereuppon the Senate was in great perplexitye, and many of theym agreeing vpon this poynt, cryed out, that it were much better, to ſaue a multitude, then a fewe perſons: theſe fewe were ſhrewdely afrayde, whom the king had requeſted thus to bee yelded into his hands to death, & ſcarcely durſt they ſpeake their myndes, ſeeing that by their deathes all the reſidue, hoped for peace & lyberty, & it had come to paſſe in deede, that theſe fewe had then bene yelded, had not *Demoſthenes* diſplayde ỹ craft and deceiptful fetch of the kyng by this wittely deuiſed fable vttred vnto them.

The Senate in doubt.

The wolfe on a time (ſayth he) perſwaded certain ſheepeheards (whoſe diligẽce he had a deſire to deceiue) to enter frendſhip and amity with him, condicionally ỹ the ſhepeheards ſhould deliuer vnto him (as hoſtages or pledges) their Dogs which were his hateful enemies, & gaue al ỹ cauſe of all the ſtrife & debate: the ſhepeheards gaue eare vnto this tale, allẽted to his requeſt, & for better aſſurance of their faithful meaning, deliuered their dogges, which were the moſt diligent garders of ỹ ſhepe: thẽ the Wolfe when al feare was taken away, not only at his fill, but alſo at his pleaſure deuoured and tare in pieces the ſhepe, & killed the ſhepeheardes themſelues. Euen ſo (O ye Athenians) doth Philip ỹ king at his preſent mean & goabout: who deſireth to haue al their heads vnder his gyrdle whi ehe haue impugned his doings & which doe manifeſte and bring to light his ſecret treacheries, and colourable dealings: becauſe he may the more eaſilye inuade, & ſacke the city, whẽ it is bereft & ſpoyled of the ſauegarders therof: for doubtleſſe ỹ cittye muſt needes periſh, wheras mẽ may not ſpeake their mindes frely in ſuch matters as concern the vtility of the weale publique.

Abſtinence frõ ciuyl bludſhed

Let ỹ good citizen greatly abſtain frõ ciuil bloud, being euer mindful of this tragical ſentence,

Who so euer he be that doth rule or raigne
From sheding of bloud let him abstayne.

But if necessity constrain, & that the citty cannot otherwise be set in good state, except by sheadinge of ꝑ bloud of some naughty lewd person: let them deale as good Phisians vse to do, who after ꝑ they do playnly see (ꝑ the troubled & infected members of their Patientes, cãnot by any maner of remedies be restored to perfection or recouery) although it be against their willes, & to the greate griefe of all the whole body: yet do they not let to cut of ꝑ same corrupt members, least they should infect all the rest of ꝑ body: for wee must not fauour or spare any person, thereby to bring ruine or decay to the whole Common weale: but we must vse reuenge, that the same may be preserued in safetye.

Naughty mẽbers in a common vvealth must bee cut of

A mischiefe new hatching and but now in the pryme,
Is sone to confusion sodenly brought:
But that which is olde, and lasted long tyme
Is often incurable, though al meanes be wrought.

To geue as spoyles vnto the cõmon people the goodes of such as be proscript & out of the Princes protection, is against all equitye, and therfore the Comunaltie of Rome deserued great prayse, & fauour, when *Marius & Cinna*, propones the richemens houses to be spoyled by the Cyttizens: for there was no man found so needye and so bare whiche at that tyme spared not from despoylinge & purloyning of that which an other man had sore sweat and laboured for. Neyther was there anye man amongeste theym whiche coulde fynde in his harte, to reape any commoditye vnto himselfe, in the tyme of that ciuill sorowe.

Comunalty of Rome refrayned from spoylinge one an other.

As seuerity in a citty is somtyme wholsome, so cruelty is alwayes pestiferous: For the Seuerity of *Lucius Sylla* was a beginning of all euilles amongest the Romaynes: for that same most infamous table wherin were fourscore thousande Persons proscribed, and of theym fower that had borne the honourable office of Consul, to wyt, *Carbo*,

Seuerityе of Iustice.

Marius

Marius, *Norbanus*, and *Scipio*, and amongest them also at that tyme *Sertorius* (a man in those days greately feared) wrought much mischiefe vnto the common weale: for other men taking hereat example, in a small tyme, subuerted the whole Empyre.

But yet the multitude of people, yea though they doe somewhat trespasse, must be mercifully spared: *Iulius Cæsar* after that he had banquished the hoast of *Pompeius* the greate, spared the Cittizens: and theym whom hee had by force of armes subdued, hee rewarded with benefites bountifully: and glorying in himselfe, wrate letters vnto his friendes at Rome, therein mentioninge that he tooke greate and moste swecte pleasure because hee had preserued in safety those Citizens, whō he alwayes reputed for his aduersaries and enemies, and had made theim to become as it were bound in tender affection, and good wyll towardes him.

The nature of crueltie doth make the prayse of victory far lesse: for greater had the prayse of *Octauius* beene towardes *Antonius*, if hee had not commaunded *Attilius*, being thē but a Chyld most Innocent, & the sonne of *Antonius*, and of *Fuluia*, to be beheaded: and yet notwithstāding *Octauius* streightway shewed the euident tokens of repentaunce, for that whiche he had done: for he streight wayes reuenged the death of *Attilius*: for *Theodorus* the scholemaister of ỳ chylde who betrayed him vnto *Octauius*, priuily tooke from the childe when hee went vnto his death, a precious stone which he ware about his Necke, whereof *Cæsar* hauinge intelligence, commaunded the same *Theodorus* to bee condempned and hanged vppon a gibet, and so reuenged the vilanye of that trayterous verlet, shewing there in playne proofes of his chaunged mind, relenting in that whiche hee had afore done.

Fauour and mercie of the conquerours and victors towordes theym that be ouercome.

No man can patiently brooke to bee flouted, contempned and to be hadde in derision: for wee reade of *Manlius Torquatus*, the Sonne of the moste valiaunte, and noble

Lucius

Lucius Manlius, was riuen from his childehoode of a dull and blunt wytte, in somuch that he was sent away by his father into the countrye, as one that seemed neyther fitte nor profitable eyther for publique, or for priuate offices: but hee wythin a small tyme after, as one wearye of his slouthfull lyfe, deliuered and preserued his father beinge accused from a greate and waighty matter of a iudicial controuersie: and in the Battle foughte by the Latines brought away the trumphe and victory, to the great reioysinge of the people of Rome. Neyther may *Themistocles* bee pretermitted with silence, whose lewdenes of lyfe his mother dispayring (for thamendment or reformynge) hanged her selfe: but when he came to be of more discretion, hee proued to bee of such excellency, in all his doings, that *Cicero* the most excellent oratour, called him ỳ prince of Greece.

The age of twentye and fower yeares is lawfull & allawable for any man to aspire and attayne vnto an office: and let no man therefore disdayne if hee be not a magistrate before those yeares: Moreouer let no man disdayne that any more auncient person then himselfe is preferred in office before him, both because the enuye is greater amõg those that be of equal vocation, and also because, euery mã doth hope when he cõmeth to that age, that then hee shal attayne vnto the like preferment.

At vvhat yeares an officer may be chosen

It standeth with the honour of the cytty when the Citizens are called by honorable and goodly names: for an vncomely maner of nomination or tearming of them seemeth so to take away somewhat of the dignitye of the person, as an honest or decent callinge of a man, seeme the to adde worshippe, honour, or dignitye: In whiche thinge, the diligence of the parentes in naming their children, is to bee praysed, and especiallye seeinge that in that poynte they bestow no coste, and yet doe not a lyttle adorne their children therewith: Wherefore some are worthie of dispraise: who hauinge Parentes and Auncestors yll na-

Apt names for Citizens.

med, woulde neuer leaue or dygresse frō the same names, euen as if they were loath to defraud their posteritye of the reproche or ignominye of their Auncestors.

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THE VII. BOOKE DEscribinge the Natures, Vses, Profites, & choyses, of all sortes of groundes: The sundrye dispositions and inclinations of Persons, accordinge to the quality of the soyle where they be bredde. The commoditye of woodes, and the orderinge thereof. The greate necessitie and benefite of Waters, Fountaynes, and Springs, with the straunge vertues of sūdry VVelles in forrein Countries.

MArcus Cato said that in buyinge of Landes, two thinges especially are to be considered, holesomenes of ayre, and plentifulnes of the soyle: wherof if the one were lacking, he iudged that that groūd was not to be accoūpted of & to bee tilled. And not without a cause, for he that buyeth barren grounde, and fruitelesse soyle, buyeth to himselfe and all his posteritye after him, pouertie and perpetuall labour. And hee that buyeth grounde scituate in a pestilent ayre, buyeth vnto himselfe and to his succession continual sicknesse, vntimely oldeage, and hasty death. For fruitfulnes of the ground, doth not a little further and helpe toward lyuing well and pleasauntly. Whereupon the Arabians are called happye, because they abound and are enryched with corne, fruites of the earth, vynes, & sweete odours.

Choyse in buyinge of Lands.

Good choyse must be had for the buylding of any City, that it be set and builded in a very holsome platte, & that is, if it stand vpon somewhat highe grounde. For champane and playn ground, is seeldome in euery poynt found safe, and valleyes are subiect vnto fulsome fogges, & daūgerous mistes, but this high place, shal neyther respecte the hoate regions of the ayre, nor those that bee to muthe tolde and frostye, but those that bee temperate, prospersinge towardes the Easte, or towardes the Sowthe.

Choyse of ground in building of a City.

Except it bee suche a countrye as is neare the Sea, for y hath commonlye the Southern, and Westerne wyndes hurtfull, especially if there be fennye grounde nere there unto, which haue not their course and issue into the Seas or Ryuers: for oute of the standinge water, so sone as the morning gleames of the sonne appeareth vpon the same, there ariseth cold wyndes or dampishe cloudes, infecting the spirites of the Cattle feeding in those fenny places: w̄ the contagion of that foggye mystinesse, they do also infect the place, and make it pestilent, especiallye in Somer and Autumne, what tyme the Southern partes of the worlde be far hoater thē at other seasons. Albeit all fenny & marshye soyle is to bee eschewed, & shonned, because, it alwayes venteth out a most poysonned ayre, beinge in somer darkned and dymmed with vaporous fogges, and in wynter with colde exhalacions & mystes: moreouer by reason of feruent heate it engendreth gnattes and other stinginge and odious vermin, which doe at suche tymes flocke together in swarmes, and infect the citye, and be very noysom both vnto man and beast.

Discommodity of standing vvaters.

Many wryters do agree in opinion, that Italye, of all other countryes is most temperate: and euen as the Planet *Iupiter*, hauing his course, in the middest, betwene the most hoate and feruent planet of *Mars*, and the most cold planet *Saturne*, by reason of diuersitie in qualities, receiueth temperatenes: so it, stretching and lying betwen the Northe and South, receyueth a temperate mixture: therfore innumerable prayses doth this countrye deserue, as *Marcus Vitruuius* sayth: for it bringeth forth men of body and mēbers in proportion most excellent, & which in fortitude of courage, wysedome & discipline, are able to surpasse all other nations. Let the auncient Romaynes bee witnesses herein, which with their warlike forecaste, and prowesse, tamed and dasted the outragious fiercenes, of all the Barbarians, and which (as *Cicero* sayth) by their owne industry either inuēted al things better, thē al other

Italye a temperate nacion.

Nacions

Nacions, or ells whatsoeuer they receuied of other countries, the same they made much better and perfecter. And in small tyme subdued they all Nacions, and obteyned the Jurisdiction and Empyre, of the whole worlde.

Naturall Philosophers, affirme that some Bodies, brought oute of colde countreys into hoate regions, can not endure and continue, but are sone dissolued: Contrarily, persons brought out of hoate regions into colde & northernly countryes, are not onely not hurt, endamaged or diseased, by the chaunge of the ayre, but are made more lusty, healthfull, and longer lyued. *Aristotle* witnesseth that those people whiche inhabite colde Countrys, doe rather abounde in courage, stomacke and strength of bodye, then in wysedome or knowledge, and that their Bodies are farre taller and fayrer: the same country people are also of a whyte complexion, of a streight flaxen hayre, gray eyed, and ful of bloud, grosse wytted, but very mighty any strōge, venturous and without feare, but in tyme of sickes they are fearfull and fayntharted; as the Frēchemen which because they excelled in largenes of body, derysed and scorned the boastes of the Romayns, saying: Lo, what little fellowes be ponder, of so small stature, of whome *Cesar* maketh mention, in his most excellent Cōmentaries, where he sayth: the short and lowe stature of our countrymen was had in contempt amongst ỳ Frenchmen in comparison of the largenesse of their own bodies: and a little after as touching their wytte he addeth thus: as the Frenchmen are ready, and couragiously mynded to take warres in hande at the firste: so is their mynde verye tender, and nothinge able to resiste aduersities: But cōtrarye wyse men borne in the Southe partes, and beinge more subiect vnto the heate of the Sonne, are lesse of personage, and slenderer of stature, of brown or swart colour, curle hayred, blacke eyed, their legges croked, and benninge, weake and nothing strong: for these men, by reasō of their small store of bloud, and subtilitie of the ayre, do excell

People bred vp in cold coū tryes.

People of the Southpartes.

cell in wytte, and are notablie ingenious, wherefore they doe quicklye conceiue and attayne the knowledge of thinges, and are more prompt for deuises and cogitations: in sickenesse they doe shewe themselues to be of a right stout stomacke, but in battle very dasterds, & cowards.

Cato his distictions of good grounde.

Cato distinguisheth a good ground by nyne seueral differences, The first part he sayth is, where Vyneyardes may bring forth abundaunt store of good wynes: the Seconde hee appoynteth for an orcharde, that may easlye bee watred: the third for Dyers: the fourth for Oline trees: the fyfte for medowe: the sixte is arable grounde, apte to beare Corne: The Seauenth for Woodes, that may bee felled and lopped at their encrease: The eyghte for shrubbes and Bushes: The nynthe for woodes that beareth Maste: For it must needes bee a good grounde whyche hathe the more parte of all these commodities.

Iuniper.

The Iuniper Trees doe with their Beries nourishe the winter Fowles, wherewyth also Capons being fedde and crammed, doe nowe a dayes furnishe out the Tables and make the same more elegante: and the Wood thereof beinge burned, sendeth forth a swete smelling Smoke, and odoure moste holsome in Sommer to expell, & dryue awaye all euyll and noysome ayres.

Chestnutte.

No man can denye, but that the maste of Chestnuttes is profitable: For it is not onely good for beastes to feede vppon, but also for a mannes whole household. This Nutte is so couered and harnessed as it were with a pricking shelle, that it can scarce bee taken oute of the same without hurtinge of a mannes handes: and therfore the countrye people, were wonte to burye the same certayne dayes in pyttes or holes, within the earth, tyll such time as the vttermoste pylle of the Nuttes opened of it selfe, and so oute of euerye Shell, there commeth twoo or three Kernelles. This Tree groweth verye bygge, and is profitable almoste in euerye respecte for buyldinge: and of it are made verye good Tubbes, and Wyne wt Oyle

Vessels

Veſſelles, whiche the Carpenters of oure tyme doe call the Queene of all Trees, becauſe it is coumpted good almoſte for all purpoſes and vſes: wherefore not onelye for fruite and wood, but alſo for tymber, it is to be accoumpted a chiefe and ſpeciall wood.

How neceſſarye Fyre is, not onely to the nouriſhment of mans lyfe, but almoſt vnto al vſes, euery mã may eaſelye iudge: Therfore very yll ſhould any choyſe of habitation be, if it eyther ſtande farre diſtaunt from Woodes, or altogether lacke the commoditye thereof. For we haue reade and ſeene in our tyme, that citties by the enemye beſieged, haue beene forced of neceſſitye to yelde, for defaulte and wante of wood. Wooddes and vvood ground neceſſaryc.

Therefore that Countrye ſoyle is to bee chaſen for habitacion, whiche aboundeth with fire woode, whiche is ſo to bee vſed and appointed, that euerye Seauenth yeare, parte of the ſame Trees maye be cutte downe and lopte, and that there maye bee enoughe to ſuffice the vſe of all the whole people: for that which is cutte downe, had nede to haue Seauen yeares growth, before it bee cut agayne, that the younge Settes, and ſhrubbes therof may growe freſhe agayne, to their full Syſe and Skantlinge. Fyrevvvod.

The Woode whiche ſerueth for Tymber to Buylde Houſes, and Shippes wythall, muſte more diligentlye bee looked vnto, preſerued and kepte, and to bee cleanſed euerye yeare from Thornes, Bryars, & Brambles, that they hynder not the newe Gryffes, and ſpringing plants from growynge to their full heighth, ſyſe, and bigneſſe.

At the Springe of the yeare Trees do burgein, and beſtow all their Sappe and ſtrength, vpon bowes and buddes: and therefore become they weake and exhauſted, as the bodies of women that are greate wyth Chylde, are feebler, weaker, and ſlenderer of ſtrength then others, & when their time of labour, or chyldebirth cõmeth, they become for a tyme vnweildy and weake, tyll they haue w̃ good Cawdels, & nouriſhments, recouered their former ſtrengthe agayne. Mayne tymber trees for buyldinges & ſhips

Euenſo

Euen so trees whyle they burgeyn and beare leaues, and afterwards while they nourishe their fruites yet vnrype, are of lesse strength and force: but whē in Autumne their fruites or beries are shaken of, and that their leaues doe fall, the rootes do take agayne vnto them all their whole sappe, and strength, and so are restored vnto their former perfect solidrie.

Water.

Thales Milesius preferred water as the principall and chiefest of al other elements: for mans nature can easyer beare wt the want of any thing, thē of water: for admit ỹ corne fayl & be not to be had, yet ỹ profitable encrese cōming of young setts, and trees, may supplie & administer sufficient prouision wherwith to sustayn lyfe. We may defende lyfe with flesche, by hauking, by fishing, with herbes and rootes: but where water is wantinge, there can no foode neyther bee had nor preserued, litle for mannes sustentation: and therfore we accompte that country altogether vnhappye, whiche eyther lacketh water, or hath water vnholsome and corrupe.

Ceremoniall custome of the Egiptians touchinge ywater.

Moreouer it was a manner among the Egiptians, and of thē very streitely for a long tyme obserued, that before all the houses and temples of their goddes, there shoulde be set a potte with water, to thende that they that wente into the Temples might therewith be sprinckled, and falling down to the ground with their hands (lift vp to heauen) might geue thankes vnto the maiestye of God, who had bountifully blessed & releued them with moost holsom water. And further more wee reade of certayn countries by meanes of waters onely ennobled and made famous, as the mountayne *Thiliadus* amongst the *Molossians*, which *Theopompus* extolleth, and sayth, bad an hundred bridges. *Magnesia* is coumpted far more famous, by reason of the excellency of a Well, which the Poets do there testifye to be dedicated vnto the Muses, because whosoeuer dranke out of ỹ same, became therby swete breasted & clearer to singe. Neyther is it to be mernayled at forasmuch

Countries famous through ywaters.

as there

there be founde innumerable vertues of waters, partelye by apparaunt, & partely by secrete & obscure reason: Of the Spring in *Arcady*, whiche the Inhabitauntes called *Clitorius*, which maketh such as taste of the Liquor therof, straightways to abhorre al drinking of wine, forever.

Vitruuius saythe that there is a Well in *Paphlagonia*, whiche semeth as though it were myxt w̄ wyne, insomuch that they which drinke therof are made dronke: The lyke Nature and qualitie the ryuer *Liceſius* in *Thracia*, is reported to haue, on the bankes whereof manye tymes the trauelers and wayfaring persons are found dronken, & sleepinge. The citty of *Epheſus* also hath Springes, not farre from it, the waters wherof seeme mingled with vynegar, and therfore are most acceptable vnto sicke persōs. And *Strabo* the Geographer, wryteth that there is a water at *Hieropolis*, so apt for dynge of Wolle, that if ỳ rootes of herbs be ſteped & mixed therein, it maketh as Orient & gorious a colour, as if it were Scarlet, or purple.

Springes of vvonderfull qualities.

There bee also whiche wryte that at *Tharſis*, a Cyttye in *Cicilia*, is a Ryuer called *Cydnus*, where persons that are bathed, and a certayne tyme washed, are eased of the goute. Moreouer *Pomponius* in his Cosmographye wryteth, that one of the two Islandes called Fortunate, is notable and famous throughe ỳ singuler vertue of two seuerall springs, of whom who so tasteth of the one, tānot but laughe continuallye, and the onely remedy for theym that bee in that case, is to drincke of the other. There is also an other Spring at *Suſis*, in the countrey of Perſia, whiche looseth, and shaketh out the teeth of those ỳ drinke therof: but to such persōs as do washe thēselues therwith it is most holsome: And so they saye there is a Lake in *Aſſyria*, neare vnto the which groweth a slimye, glewishe, and bytuminous pytche earthe, of the same quality: wherupon if a birde light, shee is straightwaye lymed and tyed fast, from flyinge any further. This kynde of Lyquor if it once be set on fier, can neuer be extinguished, nor quēched

Bathes.

but onely by throwing dust thereuppon.

Hoate vvater.

Al whot waters haue a medicinable force and vertue aboue other waters, although they be of their proper nature cold: but because they do flow or haue course throughe the hoate and ardent vaynes of the Earth, therfore they come forthe warme, which notwithstanding, cannot long remayn so, but be in short space cooled: for if by Nature they had heate in them, they wold not so sone become colde.

And surely vnto me it semeth a thing wonderfull, that there are waters ordayned by the prouidence of god, medicinable, and able to cure all diseases incident vnto mortall men, which do not in their curing, vexe the diseased persons with sybersauces, Receipts, druggs, and bitter dilutions, neyther torment them, with syze or coole: but with a most sweete bathe & washing, do restore them into their pristinate health. Neyther haue ẏ Springs, whiche ryse from sulphereous or brimstony soyle, these vertues only: but those Springs also, ẇ passe & haue their course through allompe soyle, which doth cure the laske, & resolucion of ẏ sinewes: they are very good also for them that haue yll digestiõ, and yll stomackes: Finally they do performe that thing which *Asclepiades* said, was the office of a right good phisician: ẏ is to say, to cure safely, spedely & pleasantly: & bituminous waters also haue their vertues: which rather by drincking, thẽ by bathing, do helpe ẏ diseased persõs, for they do make the belly soluble, wout any payne or griefe, & do cure almost all the inward diseases of the body by purgation: & sometime the paynfull wringinge of the intrayles and guttes, when they be exulcerated, & whẽ that excoriacion or bloudynes floweth frõ thẽ, are herby restored vnto their former health. There is also a Nitrous kinde of colde water, the drinking whereof doth purge, & diminisheal vnnatural accesses of the body & specially the humours or swelling of the throate, or the kinges euill: such allomy, & saltish nitrous Springs yelde forth for the most part an euill smell & relish: for their ori-

ginall

ginall, being from the very lowest partes of the earth, do passe through, the hoate ardent vaynes of the same.

Those that haue written of husbandry, do say that euerye kinde of pulse, being cast into water, and set vppon the fier, doth trye the same water very well, they be quickly & speedely boyled. Certayn of the auncient Phisicians affirmed that kind of water to be best, which is lightest, or els ẏ which being set on the fyre, will soonest be hoate, so that it be cleane and pure, & vnmossye. Al water that is fetchte frō the moorish or fenny groūds, is vnholsome, & so is al ẏ doth not runne, but standeth stil, or els ẏ whiche runneth through shaddowye places, and darcke caues, where the Sonne geeueth no shyne: but worst of all is snowe or yce water, as certayne auncient wryters, haue holden opiniō. *Cornelius Celsus* doth thus wryte of waters: Rayn water is the lightest water ẏ is: next is Spring or Wel water, then ryuer water, and laste of all is pytte water, then describeth hee snow or yce water, and that standinge water is heauye, but the heauiest of all others (sayth hee) is that which is taken out of a moorish or fenny ground. He that throughlye considereth the nature of these thinges, wyll wyllingly prouide holesome liquor for the vse of himselfe, and his fellowe Cittizens.

What kindes of vvaters bee best.

The best situacion for a City is ẏ which is not farre distant frō the sea, or frō som great & nauigable riuer, throughe which may be transported & caryed out those things, wherof we haue to great store, and such thinges may bee brought vnto vs, wherof wee stand in neede. Surelye the mouthes or entries of ryuers, haue great oportunitye: & their flowings & pleasant tydes, do not only encrease pleasure, & becom most holsom for all cattle, sithēs they may goe easly, without any coursing, & vehemēt resistāce, of ẏ water, but also do make the fields & pastures therūto adioyning more rancke and fruictfull. There is great diuersitie in ryuers, & euery of thē hath not cōmodity alyke: for ẏ riuer *Nilus* is coūpted ẏ most fertile & fruitfullest riuer of al others, it floweth through Egipt, w̄ great fertilitye:

ta hath ouerflowen the whole Lande all ỹ Somer tyme, it goeth backe agayne into his Chanell, and leaueth the fieldes fatted with mudde, and very fruitefull for any tillage, insomuch that the inhabitauntes there haue scarcelye any neede of the labour of Oxen, or of the helpe of anye husbãdmen, to manure the same any further, then only to cast their seede theruppon. And this do I iudge, is to be attributed vnto Nature her selfe, the best Parente of all thinges: For sithens Egipt was destitute of deawe, and rayne, Nature in supplie thereof gaue thereunto this ryuer, whiche should bee able to geeue nourishmentes vnto Corne and Plantes. For the deuine prouidence of God, hath appointed innumerable courses of riuers, for the vtilitye of the Lande, and Soyle, through which their course lyeth: because no countrye should be altogether without the helpe and furtherance of nature. For the increase of ỹ ryuer *Nilus*, doth greately benefite and helpe that countrey, because through the great ouerflowing therof, many hurtfull dealles breeding there, are thereby dispatched & drowned, except they spedely flye for refuge vnto ỹ higher places: vnto whiche Countrye alone, these profites and commodities are incident, that it neyther hath any cloudes, nor colo windes, or any thicke exhalacions: the water thereof is very sweete, insomuche that the Inhabitantes there, can easely lyue without wyne, and can drincke the same water with great pleasure.

Nearenes of the Sea vnto a Cittie cõmodious.

I suppose the vicinitie or nearenes of the Sea maketh much better for the preseruation and safe keeping of a cittye, both for the vse of ciuil lyfe, and also for the gathering together of ryches, wherewith cities are merueylously encreased: but those Cities are farre more harder to bee besieged, which the Sea washeth vpon, seeing that to the siege and expugnacion thereof, is required not onelye a greate power by Sea, but also a greate Armie by land. Wherof if the one be wanting, the Citizens maye easelye ouercome the other hoaste, when as it shalbe harde for ỹ

armie

armie by lande to sende any succoure, vnto the Nauye by Sea: on the other parte, the multitude or companye of sea Souldiers may easely be profligated, and banquished by horsemen. Therfore conuenient and opportune hauens, must bee carefully, and wysely chosen out, by all thē that would found and stablishe a Cittye.

Small fieldes and little Arable groundes, easely bringeth dearth of Corne, which surely is the cause that thyther is small recourse of people: for people pynched with penury, and famine, be afrayde to mary, neyther desireth to haue anye chyldren, wherefore in such a countrey they do nothing encrease: yea rather the poorer sort, hauing respect to their needines & famine, doe forsake their countrye, and seeke to plant themselues in some pleasaunt and fruitfuller soyle elswhere, especially if their own countrey, be so streite & narow, that it be not able to feede cattle: for next vnto corne, cattle whiche greately encreaseth flesshe, Wylke, and Cheese, doe best nourishe. As for fishing meethiuckes is not greatly to bee wished for, partely because that fishes doe geeue yll nourishement to the bodye, and agayne do make mennes bodyes weake and sickelye, whiche thing I maye proue by *Homers* testimony, who neuer made his warriours, and Souldiers, which encamped by the Sea shore, to taste or feede vpon fishe at any tyme: and agayne because, I doe alwayes see the Fysherman to be chillinge colde, bare and needye.

Penurye.

Fyshinge.

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THE VIII. BOOKE, DISCOURSINGE OF BUYLDINGS, VVALLES, GATES, CASTLES, FOYTRESSES, GARRISONS, *Lybraries, Churches, & other Monumentes of a Cittye.*

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VNgells whiche from the very natiuitie and birthe are appoynted vnto all men, are called the messengers of truth, which do sometime foreshew & tell vnto holy & innocent men, eyther sleeping or waking, such predictions & happes of thinges to come, as by euent afterwardes are founde true.

A place that standeth high, or which hath readye wyndinges & turninges, or which standeth eyther vppon the Sea, or some great ryuer, needeth farre lesse labour and cost: for where as the place is well defended by the naturall situatiō of it selfe, it needeth the lesse walles: but plain countries or places not highe, muste be succoured, & helped with labour, and charges otherwise for defence. Regarde also must be had of the height, and thicknes of the walles: for when the walles be very highe, they are easly shaken, & battred down with engins and Gonnes: agayn where they are too low, they are easely conquered, & skaled by the enemie with ropes, & skaling ladders. Forty or fyftye cubites high is of many cunning Architects, & skilfull fortifiers allowed: in the toppe wherof, that thicknes is sayd to be sufficient, whiche maye serue for two armed souldiers to go side by side, without hindering, one thother in meetinge,

Fortifications.

Moreouer also there must be had very diligent consideration of the Gates of a citty, for by meanes therof it chāceth sometimes, ẏ by sodeyn vprores ẏ townes be taken, & sacked, or when the townsmen, & citizens returne or flye, the enemies being mingled among thē maye surprise the Gates.

As

As *Romulus* at one incursion inuaded and tooke ꝑ Citye of the *Fidenatians*, for hee was purposed after that he had spoyled their fieldes, to harrye the countrye, dryue awaye his praye, & so to haue discamped wᵗ his boast: but whē the *Fidenatiās* issued out of theyr citty, there was betwene thē a skirmishe, wherin they being weaker were discomfited & put to flyght. And therupon *Romulus* pursuing and chasing them, rushed into the citty together with theim that fled, as if they had bene al of one company: & so wan ꝑ citty which he planted with Romaynes, & brought vnder hys owne subiection: Regarde therfore must be had, that the wayes of the Gates be not direct or streight & forthright, but turning & wynding many ways to deceiue ꝑ enemies.

There hath bene no small disputation amongest theim which haue wrytte of ciuil society, whether any tower or Castle, be fitly to be placed in a free citty, in which thinge this is to be considered, whether it do more good or euill, amongst free cittizens, to haue a strong Fort cōmitted to the credite, and keeping of a fewe: And if we wyll truelye iudge of and throughly reuolue the monumentes of olde historyes, wee shall fynde, that mo cōmon weales, & estates haue bene subuerted, & ouerthrowne, by negligence & trechery of them ꝑ haue bene the rulers, & captaynes therof, thē haue bene preserued: & yet notwithstāding, Rome was takē, & fired by the Frēchmen, but by ꝑ defēce of the Capitoll was in parte saued, and at length wᵗ golde bought peace. But *Aristotle* affirmeth, ꝑ a castle is vnto a good cōmon wealth, vnprofitable & daungerous: & ꝑ it geueth opportunitie vnto Tyranny, who doubteth: *Tymotheus* that notable Oratour of *Corynth* playnly affirmed that, ꝑ citye which is kept by the garrisō of a castle, cannot lightlye be without tyranny. Castles in cities.

Pyrrhus kinge of *Epyrotes* on a tyme came to Athens, & was with curteous hospitalitie of the citizens receyued: he after viewe taken of that cittye, aboūdinge wyth excedinge greate ryches, and whiche was the mother of all laudable Artes and Disciplines, was brought into the

castle

castle of *Pallas*, & there did his solempnities with deuoute reuerence, beholding with greate admiracion the Castle how stronge & impregnable it was both by naturall scituacio, & also by artificial fortification: at length whē he was ready to depart, and was now come into the market place, hee rendred greate thankes vnto the Rulers of the Cittye, which accompanied him, for the confidence & fidelitie, which they reposed in him: & finally warned theym that they shoulde neuer thence forthe, geeue libertye and leaue to any king to enter into their castle, least after such entraunce and view, some peraduenture vsinge that good opportunitie and holde, should take the vauntage, and ther upon inuade their cittie: This counsell was very well lyked of the Athenians, as they whiche well knewe, howe daungerous a thinge it was for Cittizens to suffer, stoute and valiaunt men to enter into their chiefe fortresse: and so from thence forwardes, they kepte the Gates thereof more diligently.

Order of buyl ding priuate houses

Priuate houses are to bee builte, if it may be alonge the highe streetes, on a rowe, and of lyke proportion and makinge: for so they beautifie and adorne the cittie. Neither let them buylde any thinge too much outward, thereby to hinder any highe wayes: for wee muste so liue, that a priuate house must be described to serue the vse and commoditye of the whole familye. Neyther let any vacant or vnprofitable place be therein, and so the very view & sighte thereof, shall bringe the more ornament thereunto: for as *Cicero* sayth: The gorgeousnesse of a mannes house augmenteth the dignitye of the person dwelling in ꝑ same.

Comely buyl- ding in a cittye

And I iudge the couetousnes of theym to be worthye of greate reprehension, who flowinge and aboundinge in greate wealth and ryches, neuer bestow any coste in buildinge, because they wolde spare their mony, and fill their Chestes for their posterity: wheras if our Auncestors had folowed any such order, wee should vntill this day in our Citties haue had shepardlye cabins, & rusticall Cotages.

A Lybrarye

A Lybrary ought to be erected in some holsome & quyet place, neyther ought we to suffer our Cittizens to bee defrauded and disappointed of suche benefite: for if places of exercise which make for the health of mens bodyes, be in many cities with such carefulnesse and coste erected & appointed, how muche more ought a Lybrarye to be furnished and set forth, which is the foode of a wel nurtured mynde, and the exercise of a freee or well inclined nature. And if they that got the maysteries or prises in games, deserued great honours (insomuch that standing in the companie, they were crowned with the garlande & crowne of Victorye, and at their returne into their owne countrye, were like trinmphant victers, caryed in chayres or Wagons, & were also demed worthy to be mayntayned wyth meat, drinke, & apparell, at the publique charges of ỹ cyties perpetually) howe much more are excellent learned men to bee had in estimacion, which do further and helpe the common weale aswell in discipline and manners, as also in their wrytinges, by committinge all thinges vnto memory, which in tyme to come, maye profite their posteritie?

Libraries.

Let such a place bee chosen for a Lybrarye, whose prospect may be Eastwarde, for the eyesight requireth morning light: for if it should eyther haue prospect southward or westwarde, the wyndes blowinge from thence, would with their moyste heate, and warmenesse, corrupte volumes, and engender Moothes, whiche consume, and eate Bookes. Lette the walles within the same bee handsomely polished and trymmed, & let them be set oute and beautified with greene colour, for all greene thinges are good for the eyes, and make the sighte thereof sharpe, and quicke.

Ptolomeus king of Egipt is highly commended, who finished and furnished a Lybrary at *Alexandria*, to his inestimable charges and industrye, in which libzarye, there were forty thoulãd volumes: al which bookes, were de-

The Lybrarye of Ptolemeus had 400000 volumes.

stroyed by casualtye of fyre in the battle that *Cæsar* had against *Achiles* lieutenaunt of the kinges warres: for whē as the kinges Navy beinge by chaunce withdrawen, was commaunded to bee fyred and burned: the flame thereof catched into a part of the cittye, and ragingly burnt all ꝑ houses wherein the bookes were layde. In whiche fire good learning and disciplines doubtles had a miserable & lamentable wracke. For the wryters of all Nations and countreyes did earnestly endevour and stryue to conueygh their bokes thither, as it had bene into a Theatre & Mansion of wisdome and learning: of which library, if so muche as the steps were extant, they should surely ease vs of greate labours and traueyles, and with the lighte of Antiquity, would clarifye and lighten the obscure darcknes of lettres and disciplines.

Churches.

We must also with greate regarde foresee, that sacred houses or churches be edified and buylded, in fitte, & opportune places of the citty, wherin we must first and chiefly consider this, that of churches and temples, some be made for the most commodity of the citizens, some for the vse of them that forsaking the world, geue themselues onely to contemplacion, which houses would be in some out Corner or solitary place, where they may not be interrupted and troubled with the busie tatlinge and ciuile tumulte, of the multitude, & therfore must be set out of ꝑ cõpany & resort of men, and out of the sight of priuate houses: and either be buylt in the territories, or els without the wals of the citye. But those that are ordayned for the publique vtility of the Citizens, oughte to bee scituated in a fayre rowme & place, eyther in the harte of the Cittye, or in the places that be best inhabited and peopled, to thintente the citizens may conueniently thither repayre dayly with their wyues and children: but those churches which they call Cathedrall churches, whereof the bishopp of the See hath the rule and auctority, all Architectes thinck most expedient to be buylded vpon an high ground in the midst

Cathedrall churches.

of the

of the cittye, that out of it the greatest part of the walles of the cittye may be viewed every where round about: for within the guarde and protection therof, the whole cittye seemeth to consist, and thither vppon holye dayes all men flocke together as it were vnto a spectacle of deuine and speciall matters. As for places in the churches and houses of prayer or preachinge, where deuine misteries are to bee celebrated, let them be ordayned, so farre as may bee, best for the ministers and congregation: and if it may conuenienly, Eastwarde: but if the nature of the place wyl not so suffer it, let it be so and in such sort, that it may stand in the full sight of the greater part of the churche, wherin if they take aduise of the skilful Architectes to ouersee the workemanshippe, they shall buylde all thinges commodiously, and orderlye: neyther shall they greatlye stande in nede of any my wryting or preceptes thereto, sithens the deuise and reason of buyldinge requireth rather a liuelye instructor, then a dead directer: moreouer þ is true, whyche as a common prouerbe is wont to bee spoken, that an vnskilful maister or owner, cã a great deale better builde in his owne court, or vpon his owne grounde, then a most learned & skilful workmaister in another. For mans diligence & long cõsideratiõ of þ owner or master, surpasseth the deuise and skill of the Artificer.

A morall Methode

THE NINTHE BOOKE

entreating of warres, and Martiall discipline,

Of Munitions, Ordenaunce, Artillerie, Victuals, Musters, Lieutenantes, Generalles, Captaynes and Souldiers: Of peace and warre with the circustances therof.

There is nothinge vnto mannes nature better then to be wyllinge, neyther any thing greater, then to be able to benefite and helpe many, But forasmuch as ꝑ seuerall wealth of many persons particulerly is but slender and small, ꝑ although they would neuer so gladly, yet can they not extend liberalitye and requitall towards them that well deserue: Onely kinges and ꝑinces may be liberall, bountiful & nobly mynded.

Chilo the Lacedemonian, who was one of the seauen wyse Sages of Greece was abundantly enriched, in a maner with all kindes of vertues, yet in nothing more, then in beneficence and liberalitye: & therfore when as he was come to extreeme olde age, oftentimes (as it were reioycingly) he was wont to say, ꝑ in all his lyfe tyme, he dyd neuer any thing ingratefully: No vertue doth more cõmende and adorne Capitaines, Generalles, and Gouernours of Armies, then Liberalitie, whereby they keepe their Souldiers constant and obedient in perfourminge their dueties, and also thereby allure and winne their very enemies vnto them, throughe hope of Benignitye, and francknesse.

Liberalitie in Captaines and Generalles most cõmendable & expedient.

The first onset and claspinge together of the Armies in fighte, is alwayes coumpted daungerous, and difficulte: for true is that sentence of *Scipio*: That there appeareth greater courage and hautines in him that inferreth peril

and

and aduenturech to geeue the onset, then is in him that redefendeth: But after that open warre be denounced, and that euery man prepareth homewarde out of his fieldes, to sticke to his safety, and to stand circumspectly vpon his garde: then they come together in their warlike order, & then they appoint their scoutes, and marshall their souldiers, euery man taketh stomacke and courage vnto him: he beholdeth and seeth his enemie, neyther thincketh he it good and conuenient to bicker disorderly, and Skirmishinglye, but orderlye and in good arraye: and then those matters whiche feare ymagined to be daungerous, reason doth teache to bee farre lesse, and not so muche to be doubted: then euerye man determineth withe himselfe what is nedefull to bee done, neyther bee they taken vnprouided, nor receiue the foyle at their enemies hands, but are euery daye more and more emboldened and encouraged, and by these meanes they commonly carry away the victorye, which were prouoked with iniurye afore: & thus do they many tymes reuenge themselues vpon their enemies, and deliuer their countrye from all thraldome and Bondage.

The first onset in battell most daungerous.

But the order of waging battle is farre more streite, and needeth deeper councell: Neyther is it ynough for vs to consider that wee goe to fight in a righteous quarell, & for iustlye demaunding our own right: & ỳ for good causes warre may well be waged and proclaymed: But we must also consider what our power is, & of what power & strength, our aduersaries and enemies are, what manner of Souldiers we haue, what partakers & confederates, what tributaries we haue, and howe they bee affected towardes vs: to what summe our cõmon stocke or treasury amounteth to: for it is a thing odious and hatefull, to leuie tribute vppon priuate persons, and is a thing that verye soone breedeth and getteth the enuie of the cittizens. Wee must also consider how strong, how well fortified, & how wel victualled the citty is, with what garrisons the

Waginge battell.

townes

townes and Castles within our Jurisdiction, be mayntey ned and keyte, and what stoze of munition and ozdinaūce we haue in our armary: these & many such like, are bezoze hād to be perpēded & waighed, & which are thē chiefly acknowledged and best knowen, when the gates of the cytye being shutte, the enemie is kept out, and dziuen backe from the walles with slynges, arrowes, and gonshot.

Aduise, baliauntnes, and knowledge in maciall matters, bee of greate sozce and do much good in warres: but soztune, chiefly excelleth al the resk, wherfoze that sentēce of *Hannibal* vnto *Scipio* is true, where he sayethe: that the euentes of thinges neuer lisse agree and fall oute, accozding to our purposes then in warre: and therfoze an assured peace is better and safer, then a victozye, which we do but hope foz: also wee must yelde somewhat vnto ỹ multitude and vulgar sozte, whose credence always hangeth vppon soztune, and many tymes folow the myndes of men mingled and gathered together, out of sundzy countryes, whome no zealous pietye oz affection towards their coūtry, no feare of god noz religiō kepeth in awe, but are only thereto allured w̄ hyze, & stipendary wages.

Assured peace better then cōqueste hoped for.

All consultation of warres to be made vpon others, although it be good foz many purposes, yet in a free Cittye it is daungerous: foz when the matter is referred to the Senate, they do not all agree in one opinion, some follow the truth, & some frame thēselues accozding to thopinion of the cōmon people, & bee people pleasers, aduaūcinge & setting fozeward ỹ sioe, which the vulgar sozt best alloweth, & therfoze the most part are deceiued: foz there is nothinge amongst moztall men so vnstable & waueringe, as the mindes, willes, & opiniōs of the citizēs, which not only being disalowed of (as *Cicero* sayth) are angry oz greued, but also oftentimes do repine & grudge at thinges, ỹ be wel doue & by right & equity: therfoze a wise man wyll aduisedly deliberate, & consider ech circūstance, bezoze he absolutely geue his consent, to thenterpzising of making warres

warres, least that he lay such a burden vpon his shoulders vnder which he may fall downe.

Labienus a man fortunate, and ryche, who of his owne proper costes and charges builded out of the ground, the town called *Cingulum* in *Picene*, tooke part too earnestlye wᵗ *Pompeius*, wherfore he could not hope for any fauour or pardon at ẏ victors hands, although (in deede) most merciful. For whē ther was an emparle & treaty of peace betwene the Souldiers of *Cæsar*, & the souldiers of *Pompei*, this *Labienus* with a loud voyce, exclaymed & cryed oute saying: Sirs, leaue of to make any further talke of intreaty for peace: for except you first haue *Cæsars* head frō his shoulders, there can be no peace at all amongest you.

Nothing can be more daungerous in a free citty, then for a man to promise that he will be the aucthour & ryngleader of warres, which thing surely euen they in mine opinion seeme to doe, which openly in the counsel chamber auerre ẏ warres are expedient to be taken in hand. *Solon* was accoumpted a very wyseman, yet he (because he wold not freely geue sentēce, ẏ it was requisite to make warres againꝫ the *Megarians*, for the recouery of *Salamine*, sodēly fayned himselfe madde, and beinge disguised in apparel like a fole, prouoked the Athenians to fyght. When ẏ matter fell out well, and that they had wonne *Salamyne*, they al cōmended & wel allowed of his coūsell, & deuise in ẏ behalfe: Now *Solon* al this while, vnder ẏ shield of fayned madnesse shrowded himselfe, that if the matter shuld not haue come to passe as he before had told them, and as hee would haue it, yet therby hee myght purchase pardon for his wordes and deedes.

Authors of Warres.

It is oftentimes called in question, whether it be good to make warres, for ẏ encrease & propagation of dominiō & Lordshippe, when any occasion of conquest is offered: or elles whether it bee better to bee quiet, and to lyue in peace: many argumentes may be brought and alleadged on both partes.

Warring for enlarging Empyres.

But

But we rather encline vnto peace.

Prayse of Warfare.

Glorious truelye is Martiall dealinges, and I cannot tell whether there bee any thing more noble: and no mã can denye but all greate dominions and noble Empires haue bene purchased and gottē by the attempt of warrs. Without all doubte the renoume and names of all moste noble and flourishing citties, should for the moste part bee buryed in darckncs, were they not made famous by martiall feates: Neyther hath the Citty of Athens attayned so great fame or renowme, which hath merited to haue ỹ name of the mother of all Artes & disciplines, as Reme hath done: which was in tymes passed, the Imperial seate of the whole vniuersall worlde, although neyther of the twayne woulde seeme to lacke the others prayse and commendation. For Rome it selfe excelled in the studies of all good Artes and Sciences, and Athens lacked the glorye of warfare: for eyther of these Citties bare greate Reuerence vnto the studies both of warre, and peace, and honored *Minerua* both armed and vnarmed: but we (as I said before) do rather commend peace, & do especially desire to instruct our citizens in the same, because it leadeth more safelye and surelye vnto the tranquillity of mynde: And therfore lyuing content with the territories and coūtries which we already enioy, let vs not enter into any warres but onely such as is necessarye, or if at any tyme we do enter into the same, let vs as spedely as wee can, seeke some way to bridle and qualefye our desires: which thing euen armed *Hannibal* seemeth to ratify, when as he sayd vnto *Scipio* in this maner: It had bene very good if the Gods had geeuen that mynde vnto oure predecessors, that you might bee contented with thempires of Italy, and wee of Afrique.

Rome and Athens.

Peace better then Warre.

Vayne glorye, and ambition.

Vayne glory and vayne desire of soueraignitie, manye tymes so enflameth men, that they be contented wyth no territories or boundes, neyther take they any felicitye in peace.

Curtius

Curtius wryteth that thembassadours of *Scythia* spake these wordes vnto king *Alexander*: If the Goddes had geeuen vnto the a body, agreeable to the great greedines and ambition of thy mynde, the whole worlde it selfe wold not suffice to conteyn thee, thou wouldst with the one hād touch the East, and with ẏ other, the West: and hauinge obtayned all this, thou woldst yet moreouer know where and in what place, the renoume of such a stately maiestye should be enthronized, & thus desirest thou ẏ thing, which thou canst not comprehend: From *Europa* thou traueylest into *Asia*, and out of *Asia* agayne into *Europa*, finally if thou get the vpper hand, and ouercome all humane creatures, and men lyuing, then wilt thou make warres, w̄ woodes, cloudes, ryuers, wylde beastes, and dumbe creatures: what thinkest thou? doest thou not know ẏ greate trees do grow long tyme, and yet in one howre space they are pluckt vp by the rootes? Hee is a foole that looketh after the fruites of them, and measureth not the height of the tree, wherof they grow: take heede least whilest thou strywest to come to the toppe of the Tree, thou fall to the ground with the same boughes, whiche thou layest holde vpon.

Vayne glorye and ambition noted in Alexander.

Oh miserable state and condicion of man. Oh deceiuable expectatiō, which mortal natures haue in this worlde Why are we seduced and caryed away with such greedye ambitiō, sythens wee euidently see that all our goodes, & whatsoeuer worldly benefites els which we possesse & enioy, are mutable, trāsitory & fraple, and ẏ nothing is to be desyred sauinge onely vertue.

What do the subuersions of Citties gottē by conquest, or otherwise auayle? what do whole Empyres themselues profite vs? but that onelie when wee enioy them, wee doe alwayes lyue carcking and carefull? For true is that sentence of *Iulianus Caesar*, who at the beginning of his raign being troubled with tumultuous rustyng in France, said: That hee had gotten nothinge by being Emperoure, but

onely that hee lyued thereby, euer buſie and occupied.

Gouernours & generalles in Warres.

If we take in hande any warres, wee muſte firſte forethincke whome we may auctorize, & make the chiefe Generalle and Capitayne: for if wee will iudge arighte in this behalfe, truly there can bee nothing found more rare or difficulte, then a good Generall & Capitayne.

Philip king of Macedony ſayd that he meruayled why the Athenians did euery yeare chose new Generalles, and Captaynes of their warres, ſithens he in all his lyfe time had founde but one good Capitayne, namely *Parmenio*.

Fovver ſpeciall thinges requiſite in a chiefetayne.

Cicero ſuppoſeth that fower thinges ought to bee in a chiefetayn or gouernour of warres: ỳ is to ſay, knowledge or ſkyll in Martiall matters: Valiaunce: Aucthority: & felicitie: and vnto theſe he addeth further: Vertues (ſaith hee) appertayning vnto a Generall or chiefe Capitayne, are Trauell & Labour, Fortitude, and Courage in daungers, induſtry in his dealinges, quicke diſpatche in bringinge things to paſſe, and aduiſement in forecaſting wyth prouidence, which way to worke his matters.

All men knowe that Fortune lyeth not in oure power but is to be craued by prayer, at the handes of God: but vertue and wyſedome, ought we to haue at our ſelues.

Cambyſes (as *Xenophon* reporteth) aduertiſed his ſonne *Cyrus*, that Captaynes of warres ouer and aboue al other ſouldiers, ſhoulde enure thẽſelues to abyde heate & drought, and in wynter the ſtormes and cold: & to be always at one ende in all labours and daungerous aduentures: for almuche as the trauelles are not ſo greuous vnto the Captayne, as to the common ſouldier: for hee that is a Chiefetain or Generall, ought to meaſure and by due cõſideration to weighe in his mynde, that fame and commẽdation in doing of exploytes, doth very much appertayne vnto him.

And it is expedient for him that hath the Gouernmẽt of an armed hoaſte, to enure young men to exercile, ſometimes to goe aboute the watches: to ſee his ſouldiers victualled

ſualled: to ſee the Coyne tryed: to puniſh fraude & deceipt in ỹ meaſure therof, to puniſh faultes, to be alwayes preſent at the beginning: to heare ỹ complaintes of his ſouldiers: and to ſee the ſicke and diſeaſed to bee looked & prouided for. There are alſo other vertues almoſte innumerable, appertayning to a Generall, mẽcioned by ſuch perſons as haue wrytten of warlike affayres.

Souldiers that tranſgres or make offences, are to be puniſhed, and with feare of the lawes to be reſtrayned: as thoſe which ſkatter and wander abroade at randon from the Campe, and ſo come agayne to their tentes, and ſuch as gyue the ſlyppe and goe their wayes, raũging abroade a long while, and afterward are brought agayn: For as ỹ ſouldier which firſt fleeth is to bee executed & put to death for example of the reſte: ſo likewiſe is hee to bee puniſhed which ſhall do a thing in warres, that his Captayn ſhall prohibite, or which obſerueth not ỹ charge enioyned him, yea although hee otherwiſe worthely behaue and acquite himſelfe: in which reſpecte *Manlius Torquatus* in all ages is commended, who commaunded his owne ſonne to bee beheaded, becauſe hee preſumed to fight againſt his commaundement, and yet he fought ſtoutly and valiauntly in defence of the common weale.

Souldiers offẽdinge howv to be puniſhed.

Generalles and Captaynes, ſhall do much more good, with good example of their lyfe and converſation, then wt the Cenſure of maners, or with anye kynde of cruelty. For *Xenophon* bringethe in *Cyrus* diſcourſinge by waye of oration, in maner to this effect: The chiefe worke or parte of a prince or gouernour is to ſhew himſelfe a man of honeſte converſetion, and moreouer to looke that ſuch as be vnder his charge, eat his cõmaũdement, may proue vertuous & good men: & it is the duty of a Souldier to obay his captayne, willingly to take in hande all labours al aduentures, & daungers, not to fight but in araye, and according to preſcription, to loue his weapon, to haue ſkyll in warfare and to ſet more by his honour, dignitye, & good fame, then by any thing vnder the Sonne.

The lawes of the Lacedemonians were verye seuere & sharpe in martiall matters, wherein (as *Marcellinus* declareth) those Souldiers were sharpely punished, whiche when the armie was ranked, & set in aray, durst be seene to shroude thēselues elswhere, vnder anye rooke or sheaf.

Hardnesse of fare.

Writers report that *Scipio* walkinge aboute with his friendes, vsed to eate onely cheate bread wout any thinge ells: and so do Historiographers wryte þ *Massinissa* king of *Numidia* vsed to dyne, who being lxxxx. yeares of age, vsed to dine stāding or walking before his tēte or pauilio. Suche crymes speciallye haue their originall from the chiefe Gouernours, and them that bee in auctority: for þ souldiers do imitate the fashiōs and natures of those that haue chiefe rule and gouernaunce ouer them: for if þ captaynes bee good, they trayne their souldiers to goodnes, but if they be yll, they then make their souldiers apte and prone to yll: for the multitude of the common souldiers, are sone infected.

Souldiers are to be taught (by the example of *Marc⁹ Cato*) to be fierce and courageous against their enemies, & to shewe themselues gentle towardes their friendes and Confederates, fearefull to doe iniuries, but readye and prompte to reuenge wrongs to them offered, and to desire nothinge more then prayse and glorye, whiche in deede is a verye goodlye perswasion: for those that bee desirous of prayse, doe not shunne nor refuse anye trauelles, neyther shrincke they or withdraw themselues from anye perilles or daungers, but being inflamed with desire of glorye, do nothing doubt to hazard thēselues in all great aduētures & dangers. Souldiers also must be punished that haue done amisse: for too muche lenitye and fauoure doth make them more prothe and prone to offend: and if it fall out that very manye haue offended, yet muste wee not for feare, pardon or dispence with all, but must punish those that are in the greatest fault: for if many be punished, they are to be sent and distributed to receyue their ex-

Offences to be perdoned, and how to be punished.

ecutiō

ecution in diuers places.

Marcellus vpon a tyme openly perceyued and sawe *Lucius Bantius Nolanus*, a man very bold and factious, sollicityng and stirringe the townesmen there, to reuolte and turne vnto *Hannibal*, & yet durst he not put him to death, for feare of the *Nolanes*: wherfore he called him vnto him with fayre wordes, prayling him openly as a worthy souldier, and exhorting him, to holde on and continue his good seruice and faythfull loyalty, & to be willing styl to beare out that warfare with him. And that the cittizens should ẏ better credite ẏ he was in such fauour ẅ his capitayne, *Marcellus* gaue him a goodly fayre Courser, by meanes of whiche curtesie and gentlenesse, he chaunged and altered the cupill mynde and trecherous disposition of *Lucius*, and thence forwarde found both him and all his retinewe and crew, trusty and faythfull.

Many holde opinion ẏ a Generall of an Army oughte not to combate and fight hande to hande with his enemy, except in tyme of great necessitye, and that it is sufficiente for him to performe thoffyce of a Capitayn and leader, & not of a cõmon souldier. For they say ẏ cities haue bene vtterly sacked, and whole hoastes slayn down right, or at least discomfited & put to flighte, by the rashnesse of their Capitaynes and Generalles: for whyle they pursue after euery particuler enemie, they forsake and leaue the mayn hoaste at all aduentures, and whyle they studye to take heede of one mannes blow, they pull vpon their own heades, the whole mayne force of their enemies, not consideringe howe that their owne daungers bringes with it the generall calamitye and spoyle of the whole hoast.

Combat how it is allowable in a captayne.

Scipio Africanus to certayne men which sayde that hee was no great fighter, wisely aunswered saying: My mother brought me foorth into this worlde a Capitayne and a Generall, not a fighter or common Souldier: thereby meaning that victorye and conqueste, consisteth rather in therperience and wysedome of one, then in the weapons,

One politike & skilful captain more worthe then a great sort of commõ souldiers.

and

and strength of manye: *Cyrus* (as *Xenophon* mencioneth) asked *Cambyses* how a victorye might beste bee gotten, to whom hee thus aunswered: hee that would winne & haue the vpper hande and victory, must entrappe and take hys enemies by all manner of pollicie whatsoeuer, eyther by secrete ambushes, or deceipte and fraude, yea by rapine, theft, and pylfery they must be spoyled, robbed & impouerished: for nothing is to be pretermitted, which may in anye respect tend to the subduing, & banquishing of a mans enemies: a very lye in conuenient tyme by the chiefe captayne made, hath sodenly obtayned the victorye: as that of *Valerius Leuinus*, who with a loude voyce cryed oute that he had slayne *Pirrhus*, and therewithall to make the matter more credible, helde vp his sword all bloudy, with the bloud of a certayne Souldier whom a little before he had killed, with which surmised lye, the *Epyrotes* beinge sodenly astonied, ran away as fast as they could, weping & tremblinge into their tentes.

Hovv to ouercome the enemie.

A very. Lye sometime auailable

Demosthenes the greatest oratour among the Grecias, atchieued manye warres, and was in a greate battell at *Cheronea*, wherein Philip of Macedonie ouercame the Athenians, out of which conflict *Demosthenes* by flighte and running away saued himselfe: this thing being by way of reproche afterwarde layed in his dishe, after the death of Philip, he excused himself, by reciting this notable verse.

Demosthenes vvyse excuse for his runnig avvaye.

The partie vanquished weepes and wayles,
But the partie vanquishing by death quayles.

Iulius Cæsar as hee in worthye exploytes surpassed all men, so also did he excell almost all the Romaynes in Latine eloquence. The knowledge also of histories is commodious and profitable for them which haue the conduction and gouernaunce of armies, both because in takinge counsels and aduises, by thecuent and Fortune of other mens former happes, moste firme examples are learne,

Iulius Cæsar valiaunt and learned.

And

and agayne because the vertue that is prayſed in others, doth allure and moue vs to obtayne the lyke: and fearefull Cowardiſe beinge reproued doth make men become more valiaunt: and I cannot tel whether the knowledge of warfare may by anye other diſcipline be better helped, then by peruſinge hiſtoricall Monumentes, by which we are taught and inſtructed to doe all thinges well and orderlye, whiche may eyther be ſpoken or thought by man. Nothinge newe and ſtraunge, nothinge wonderfull, nothinge vnheard or vncouth, can happen vnto the Chieftayne, whiche hath verye good knoweledge and experience in Hyſtories.

Warlike order and arraye, Diſcipline of Souldiers, good reſpecte and ſtudye in inuadinge, and bewaringe the enemie, ſkyll in Marſhallinge the armie in righte order of arraye, knowledge when to begynne the Skirmiſh, when to leaue, how to plant Ambuſhes and ſtales, & how to take heede of the lyke, whiche place is fitte to bee choſen, whiche platte is moſte commodious to bee firſte preuented and gaygned, which agayne is to bee left vnto the enemie, howe and whiche waye to geeue the onſette and charge, and how to reſiſte and ſtande at defence, with innumerable other poynctes, which ſcarce bee comprehended in longe diſcourſe, by what other meanes canne they more eaſely bee learned, then by peruſinge ouer Monumentes and recordes of Hyſtories.

Sundrye good poyntes incident and mete to be knowen of a good Captayne.

Among all ſortes of men, there can be nothinge found more rare then a perfect Captayne and Generall, whiche if hee be not to be found in the Citty, he muſt bee ſent for from other places: for it is better to fighte well and ſafelye protected vnder a ſtraunger Captayne, then in daunger and hazarde of lyfe vnder the gouernment of our native Citizen.

Nothing more rare then a perfect Generall.

Hee that hath the charge and authoritye ouer a citty, & in the tyme of warre is alſo to loke to vrbane affayres &

ought to employ

employ very greate diligence, and to looke narowly vnto his charge, that the Cittye po not sustayne any detrimẽt or damage: and as (like a capitayn in ꝑ campe) he ought to perfourme his office, so like a wise gouernour ought he to exercise and trayne his souldiers within the walles of the cittye, that with ydelnesse, nicenesse, sittinge in the shade, and other delicate and tender cockrings of the city they be not effeminated. And sõtimes it shall behoue hymselfe in person to visite the wardes, and goe throughe the watches, and not to commit all thinges to the disposition of them whom he maketh maisters of the watches vnder him, who in deede shall kepe their watch much more diligently and carefully, if they stand in feare and awe of him that is chiefe ruler ouer them al, and see him to be watchfull and vigilant. For there be which suppose, that those persons are most sharply to be punished, which negligẽtlye looke to their watch and warde, leaste by sleepe, slouth and negligence of one man, the whole citty should perish, which committeth all things to the diligence of those few persons: wherfore histories do highly commende *Epaminondas* the *Thebane*, who in time of greate distresse & daũger, viewing & surueighing in proper person the watches, thrust his sword throughe one of the watchmen whom hee found sleeping, saying these wordes: *A dead man I found hym, a dead man I leaue him.*

Punishmente for the vvatch

Neither is it to be meruayled at, that *Epaminondas* beinge otherwise a capitayne gentle and mercifull, dyd vse and practise such seuerity vpon a man sleeping, seeinge ꝑ wee doe see how throughe such negligence, whole cities haue bene sacke, spoyle, & burnt. wherupon *Virgil* sayth:

Inuadunt vrbem somno vinoq; sepultam.

With wyne and sleepe, the Citie careleſſe made,
The enmies do with force af armes inuade.

By reason

By reason of this policie & diligence *Alcibiades* aboue others is prayſed: For when the Athenians were by the Lacedemoniãs beſieged, he gaue warning vnto ỳ watchmen that they ſhoulde well marke the light which hee in the night ſeaſon out of the tower or Caſtle, would ſhewe them, and ỳ at the ſight & beholding therof, they ſhould alſo holde vp an other light: and if any were founde remiſſe or negligent in doing accordingly, hee ſhoulde aſſuredlye ſuffer puniſhment therfore, by meanes wherof hee made the watchmen to become moſt diligent and warye.

Scoutes of a Cittye.

Alſo there ought always to be ſcoutes & eſpialles to geue warning in the night ſeaſõ by ſome becon or flame of fire whẽ the enemies approched, & in the day tyme by ſmoke. Neyther ought men to be ſuffered to goe out at ỳ gates, into their fields, tyl ỳ ſcoutes haue throughlye ſearched & tried, ỳ they may ſafely go about their huſbãdry. Neither let the ſame Scoutes continewe in their turnes, any long tyme, but daylye let freſh mẽ ſuccede in their rowmes, leaſt with too much trauayle and tediouſneſſe, they happen to handle their charge more negligently.

It is alſo very commodious and profitable that chiefe rulers, and ſuch as be in authoritye, eyther at home or in warrs abrode, where ſom daũgerous matters do chance, ſhoulde goe forthe abrode in their own perſons to ſee the ſtate of thinges: by the example of *Marcellus*, who to his College or fellow in office ſayd theſe wordes: Let vs our ſelues goe with a fewe horſemen to make ſearche how the caſe ſtandeth, for the thing manifeſted vnto our eyes, ſhal more certaynly direct our aduiſe and counſel what is beſt to bee done: For *Plato* wylleth Princes of cõmon weales to goe forth and ſee how thinges frame abrode, and wyth them to leade their children on horſebacke, thereby to enure them with leſſe feare to abyde the viewe and ſighte of their enemies.

The auncient cuſtome that the Frenchmen vſed is verye profitable, to learne & vnderſtand of al thinges which

the enemie doeth and pretendeth: whiche custome manye naciõs & princes in our tyme also do vse to put in practise,

Espialles abrode very necessarye.

which is ỳ some witty persõs may be appointed to learn what fame and cõmon repoꝛt goeth abꝛode, and to make wayfaring persons (wil they oꝛ nil they) to stay, and of thẽ to learne and sifte out what newes euery one of thẽ hath heard oꝛ knowen: let them enquire of them, oute of what coastes oꝛ countries they came, and whither they mean to goe, & let them compell them to declare asmuche as they knowe of their pretence to come. But yet suche newes, flying tales and repoꝛtes, they may not alwayes credite: foꝛ many do tell lyes, and do faignyngly aunswere accoꝛding to the wyl and humour of him that asketh the question, and so leaue the demaunders as wise (foꝛ any certaintye) as they were befoꝛe: but if the demaunders, and sifters out of these matters be circumspecte and wyse, they shall easely be able to boult and trye oute the truthe, and thereby their councelles and aduises, which are to be daylye taken in hande, shal by such examinacion bee much the better furthered.

Let also the Lieutenant oꝛ Gouernour of a Cittie and Citizens, be very diligent and circumspect in the safe kepinge and gardinge of the Gates, the Keyes whereof let him keepe himselfe, and let him set in good oꝛder the watches and wardes dulye: let him also take heede, that hee be not deceyued and dissembled withall, vnder the colour of his owne souldiers, oꝛ beguiled by the counterfeicting of an other knowen speach. Foꝛ *Hãnibal* surpꝛized many cyties in Italie by apparelling and arming his souldiers lyke Romaynes, sendinge befoꝛe him such of his Souldiers as by longe continuance in the warres could e speake the Latine tongue. Many subtile shiftes and deceipts are deuised in the entraunce of the Gates of a Cittye, whiche are to be taken heede of. Foꝛ sometyme the Enemyes foꝛ the nonce and of set purpose, doe make their Beastes and Cariages to falle dawne, oꝛ elles their Waynes that

Gates must diligently be loked vnto.

carye

carye greate huge Stones, to breake and falle in pieces, and thereuppon the Enemies beinge sydaynlye at hande (whyle the Gates cannot well bee shutte) the townes are easelye taken. The *Massilians* fearing this thing, by the good Instytucions and Ordynaunces of their Common wealthe, did so keepe and warde their Cities in tyme of Peace, as if they had then beene continuallye vexed and troubled wyth warres: Wherefore vpon the holy dayes they were wonte to shutte the Gates of their Cities, to keepe their Watches, to see their Souldiers in good arraye standinge vppon the Walles, to muster and take a note of their Straungers, and other warlike affayres beside.

Reuoltes and Runnagates, are not to bee receyued or intertayned into the Cittye: for *Synon* the Grecian, being gentlye intertayned, was destruction of the Troianes. And *Zopirus* the friende of *Darius* king of Persia, perceyuinge the Kinge to waxe wearye with his long besieging of Babilon, and beinge without all hope of wynninge it, cutte of his owne nose and his owne eares, and fledde away thēce vnto the Babilonians, where he vttring many slaunderous and reprochefull wordes, agaynst his kyng, promised them that hee woulde deliuer into their handes the victorye, and be auenged on him. They beleeuing hys smothe words, made this *Zopirus* their Generall Capitayne, & deliuered vnto him theyr power, whiche when he had receyued, incontinently hee betrayed & deliuered both the Cittye and the whole hoaste vnto *Darius*. So also *Sextus Tarquinius* faynyng hymselfe to haue fledde awaye from his fathers Hoaste, because hee was (as hee sayde) beaten with roddes, and comming to the Cittye of *Gabij*, (then besieged) perswaded theym to ioyne in lyke hatred with him against the kinge his father, and being by them appointed chiefe Capitayne, hee straightwayes betrayed the Cittye, into the handes of his sayde father.

Fugitiues and runneawayes.

Cloaked treason vnder flattring wordes.

It is also daungerous to receyue manye straungers & Aliens into the cittye: both because euerye multitude of people, that is gathered and peeced together oute of sundrye nations, is vnquiet and oftentimes, of a small matter or quarell stirreth vp tumults & hurlyburlies: but also because it is the parte of a madde man, to deuide there those thinges amongst many, which he knoweth not whether they wyll suffyce to the mayntenaunce of a fewe.

Daungerous to haue manie straungers in a cittye.

Unto this Sentence may bee aptly applyed that same precept of *Cambises* king of *Persians*, which hee gaue vnto *Cyrus* his sonne, where he sayth.

No man ought to staye tyll pouerty oppresse,
But rather to prouide in tyme of wealthynesse.

Alexander of *Macedonie* besieginge *Leucadia*, suffered all the borderers and neighbours thereaboute to flye thyther for refuge and succour, that they being many, might he sooner consume the victualls, which being spent, he easelye obtayned the victory. *Antigonus* seemeth to haue vsed the like deuise againste the Athenians, who hauinge destroyed their Corne fieldes, departed thence, and wente awaye in the tyme of seede sowinge, that if they had anye remaynder of Corne yet left, they might bestowe the same vpon sowinge: & so makinge his returne thyther agayn the nexte spring, ouercame and spoyled all the Corne beinge nowe sprouted and shotte vp: and so by famine broughte them to agree to any thing, euen at his own pleasure.

The multitude also of souldiers is greately to bee feared, this haue the Carthaginians apparantly taught: for when they had made peace with the Romaines, the mercenarye souldiers, which were in number about 20000. which fought against the Romayns, conspired together, and reuolted & fled from the Carthaginians, and beside this, enueygled and seduced all Africa: and there vpon besieged Carthage, and could not be kept from scaling the walles

Foreln souldiers vntrustie.

walles, had not the greate labour and industry of *Hamilcar* then chiefe Captayne of *Carthage* bene the greater.

Let a Chiefetayne make dispatche and haste in those matters that he is bent and fullye perswaded to doe: For speedye expedition is the best compaignion in warfare: in which thinge *Alexander* of *Macedonie* is especially commended, because in expedicion and spedinesse, hee surpassed the celerity & haste of all other Capitayns: and he had so framed his footemen, that they were as swyft and nimble on foote as horses: wherfore *Darius* the king being by hym pursued, chased and persecuted, greuously complayned that he had not tyme of respite geeuen him to pawse & consider how to withstād the alacritie of Alexander, who oftentimes couragiously trauepled, with great Iourneys night and day to entrappe his enemies at vnwares, and to set vpon them sodenly and vnlooked for.

Spede and expedition a notable furtheraunce to vvat like affayres.

Let also the chiefe Capitayn of the warres do his matters closely and secretly, and let him not open and disclose his secretes vnto any man, by therample of *Metellus*, who (as *Plutarch* mēcioneth, thus answered a certayn frēd of his, which demaunded of him what he would doe ẏ nexte day followinge: If this my coate which I weare (sayd he) coulde vtter kowledge and openlye declare my secretes and determinations, I woulde straightewayes put it of, and burne it to ashes. And *Iulius Cæsar* purposing to trāsporte and send his armie another waye, toke his Iourney secretelye, and diliuered to some one man his tables, signed with his hande, dyrectinge theym at a certaine time and place to bee readye, and in good araye of battle to doe what hee shoulde commaunde theym: and nowe and then commaunded he notes to be wrytten vpon stones lying in ẏ high ways, wher his souldiers must passe, where by he gaue them by certayne watchwords, directly to vnderstande what waye was nedeful and best to be taken.

Secrete handelinge of affayres.

As it is the parte of a good phisitian to leaue no hurtefull thing in the bodye of his Patient: so is it the parte of a good

a good Generall to remoue and take awaye whatsoeuer shall hynder the prosperous estate & preseruation of thys his authoritye: for oftentimes it falleth oute that a small sparcke of fyre being neglected and not looked vnto, causeth a greate flame, as the prouerbe sayth. And that sentence of *Marcus Cato* is to be holden for an Oracle, wryting thus in his Booke of Warfare: In other matters (sayth hee) whatsoeuer is misdone, maye bee redressed or afterwards at more leasure, amended: but in warre, we must not admit the promise of any amēdement, for faultes committed: because present punishment ought out of hād to folowe the offence. For the reuenger of slouthe and Ignorannce is euermore at hande ready and prest, which is neuer fauouringe or pitifull towardes the enemy that offendeth.

Two specialle precepts in dyrecting warre fare.

There are two preceptes whiche seeme to conteyne in them the whole discipline or Arte of Warfare, the one is that there bee but fewe Gouernours and Commaunders & the same able well to gouern, and thē also such as haue passed through al ỳ degrees of warfare, wherby by obeiinge afore time theymselues, they haue the better skyll to cōmaund others. They which haue these things, it cānot be chosen, but that they shall eyther obtayne the victory, or els an honest and honourable peace: but to them whiche fayle in these thinges, no power or Force can suffice for their defence, but they shalbe caryed headlonge with a blynde rage to their vtter ruine & destruction, euen lyke brute beastes.

Clemencye in Generalles most commendable.

Clemencie and mercifulnesse towardes their Subiectes and vnderlinges, doth greatly set forthe the commendacion of Generalles and Captaynes, and maketh their noble actes more famous: *Cicero* affirmeth that, they are to be receiued into fauour and protection which with submission cast downe their weapons and betake themselues to the mercye of the Generall, yea although the Ordynance and Engine haue shaken or battred down the wall.

And

And *Cæsar* was wont to say, ỳ nothing pleased him better then to spare the simple sorte of people, neyther is this vertue to bee omitted towardes those whiche are ouercome and vanquished: For slaughter, Lust, Cruelty, and euery example of outragious Pryde towardes those that bee in distresse and misery, hath beene alwayes accoumpted detestable and horrible: great commendation did *Marcus Marcellus* wyn, who before he would graue the Spoyle of the wealthye Cyttye *Syracuse*, vnto hys Souldiers, wept, and by an Edict commaunded that no manne shoulde hurte or Iniurye any Freeman of the Cittye. *Liuius* maketh mention that the Spoyle of that Cittye was so excedinge greate, that there woulde haue beene scarcelye the lyke in *CARTHAGE*, whyche was of Power and equall Strengthe alwayes to encoũtre wyth theim.

In myne Opinion this note or Precepte is expediente to bee geeuen, that wee shoulde farre more esteeme of a small Number of Souldiers, beinge trayned vp and exercysed in the Feates of Warre, and sooner shoulde they gayne the Victorye, then of a greate multitude whyche are bothe vnskilfull and Ignoraunte, who doe open and as it were make a readye waye to their own destruction, who are afrayde of euerye Tryfle, and rather take care for flighte, then for glorye or renowme: therefore the olde precepte willeth a man that lacketh an olde beaten souldier, to take a Nouise, as yet vntrayned.

Fevv vvel trayned better thẽ a greate number of vnskilful peasauntes

For *ALEXANDER* after the death of his father *PHILIPPE*, wythe Fourtye Thousande tall armed Souldiers, that had bene by his father notablye and skilfullye trayned in Feates of Warres, ouercame sundrye and innumerable Hoastes of his enemies, that wythstode him, and subdued verye manye Regions and countries of the worlde vnder his Subiection, and compelled them to become vassayles vnto hym.

What shall wee saye of the Romayues, who beinge descended of

discēded frō meane beginnings yet by vertue and prowes onelye and by Martiall skill, did conquere all the whole worlde? Is it not a thing to be meruayled at, that a number of heardmen and sheepeheardes should inuade Italy, a countrye moste mightye aboue all other Regions, and daunte and subdue the Germaynes, and all Fraunce: dispising the largenes of their Bodies, and the number of their hoastes, and besides this shculde also tame & bringe in subiection the Spaniardes, whiche were righte fearce & cruell warriourcs, and shoulde conquere and banquyshe ỳ *Africanes*, which were the wyliest & wealthiest persons vnder the sonne: and moreouer shoulde ouerreache ỳ wysedome and cunninge of the Greekes, and finallye become Lordes of the whole worlde?

In the choyse and mustering of persons apt for ỳ warres, wee must first and formost haue a respecte vnto ỳ age of the person, which ought to be younge and tender: For boyes and stripelinges, doe far more easelye learne those thinges whiche are expedient: and doe better frame themselues to thinges wherin is no difficulty, while their mēbers are not yet styffe and hardened, neyther growne to their full strengthe and perfection: for they sitte a horse better, & they hādle ỳ raynes nymbler then aged persōs with stowpinge bodies, whose lymmes be stiffe and hardened. And furthermore lightsomnesse in leapinge vp & downe, swyftenesse in running, and quicknesse in casting, is more easie for the bodye, which yet is tender and grene, then for a body that is growne vnto ful strength.

Yongmē most apteſt to bee taught and trained in warfare

Surely *Plato* prince of al Philosophers helde opinion that younge men were to be chosen for the warres, at the age of twentye yeares, and *Seruius Tullius* Kinge of the Romaynes, was of opinion to choose them at seauentene yeares olde, at which age he called them *Iuuenes*, because they were personable to helpe, and ayde their Countrey and common wealth. Some others doe wryte that the firsteyeares of Pubertie, that is when the hayres doe

Age of Souldiers.

begyn

beginneth firſte to growe, is the beſt tyme to chooſe one ẏ wee woulde haue to proue a worthy ſeruitour. But the ſouldiers which are taken vp being aboue the age of xxx. yeares, are ſeldome cõmodious. And when they handle their weapons, (becauſe they doe it vnhandſomelye) they are but made laughing ſtockes vnto others, & oftentimes becauſe of their vnwildynes, they are by ẏ old prouerbe quipped, which ſaythe: that they bee as fitte for warfare as an Oxe to beare a Packeſadle: therfore it were better to exempt ſuche, and remitte them to ſuche Artes as they haue bene brought vp in, then to preſſe them into the warres, where they will ſerue to ſmall purpoſe, except it be in greate neceſſitie: for then we reade that priſoners and malefactors haue bene louſed out of priſon and ſet at liberty, & bõdmẽ alſo in this caſe to haue ſerued for ẏ preſent turne. *Cornelius Celſus* writeth, that a ſquare bodyed perſonage is moſt ſeruiſable, & hee prayſeth a mediocritie of breadth and length: becauſe talneſſe which in youth is comelye, is by nature ſone conſumed and brought to ẏ end by Old age. But as ẏ ſtature which tendeth vnto mediocritye is firmer, ſtronger, and of longer continuannce: ſo on the other part, a ſlender bodye is coumpted weake and feebie, and a fatte bodye is thought to bee dull and vnwildye: notwithſtandinge I knowe that ſome doe beſte allowe of talneſſe in a Souldier, whereuppon the Romaynes amõg their liuelye and courageous horſemen, and in their firſte Bãdes & Cohortes, ſuffered none to ſerue but thoſe that were in ſtature fiue foote, or very neare there vnto.

Vnfitneſſe of Souldiers.

Stature moſte conuendable for a Souldier.

Neither am I ignorãt that *Alexander* and his hoaſte by reaſon of their ſmal ſtature, were at their comming into that country, derided and laughed to ſcorne of the *Scythians*, which were very tal perſons, but within ſmal tyme after, the *Scythians* learned, that manlineſſe and courage, & not talnes & height was to be conſidered in the enemie. For it many tymes comes to paſſe that little perſons, and men of ſmall ſtature, proue & are found ẏ beſt warriours.

Small ſtature of Alexanders Souldiers.

Therfore we must not stand vpon this poynt, to consider how tall a man bee, but how strong hee is: yet notwithstāding the confirmation and well knitting of the mēbers together, may geeue great tokens of strength in man.

Best bodilye proportion & feacture for a Souldier.

Let therfore a youngeman, that is to bee employed thys way, be wel visaged, and streight bodied, round necked & bending somewhat downwarde, quicke eyed and watchefull, chearely countenaūced, broade breasted and broade shouldred, strongly drawned in his armes, and firmly cōpact in the ioyntes of his fingers, long armed, strong Elbowed, slender bellyed, bygge hypped, his legges rather slenderlye then roundlye Caulfed, and Strongelye footed.

The countrye must be respected vvhere a souldier hathe bene bred and borne.

Moreouer in leuyinge and musteringe Souldiers, we must consider in what country they were borne and brought vp. For albeit in euerye place there bee borne aswell Dastardes as valyaunte and stoute persons, yet notwithstandinge the aspect of the Heauens, furthereth muche vnto the Courage and Strength of the person: and the North coūtries are better in this respect, thē the Easterlye: But euerye temperate Countrye is reputed and taken as beste.

City souldiers

A Souldier is better to be taken out of the Countrye then out of the Cittie, as all the auncient wryters which haue wrytten of Warrefare doe holde Opinion: and not without good cause: for the Countrye youth being hardened, and Sunneburned, suffering and enduring duste, Rayne, and Snowe, feedinge vpon brown Breade, and wylde bearyes, can abyde farre more easely to lye abrode, can suffer rayne, showers, and stormes, can continewe to runne through the slippery and durtye fieldes al barefooted, which no horse can passe for myre & fowlnesse, muche better then tenderly brought vp yongmen can, which haue bene cockered and nycely effeminated with town delicacies, and pleasures of the Citty, who cannot sleepe except they may lye vpon a soft featherbed, where no noyse

must

must disquiet or trouble them, and being not hable to endure eyther heate or colde, are euer pewling in their stomacke, they neuer haue good appetite to their meate except they may haue the delicate dishes of the Citty fare, & drest after the City fashion, euer seeking for the finest brothes and viandes, neyther can they bee at hartes ease if they want their olde domesticall blandimentes. Furdermore nature her selfe prescribeth this unto mankind, that hee lesse feareth wounds or death which hath least knowledge of delyces and pleasures in this lyfe.

The Lacedemonians deserued greate prayse and commendation in warfare, whose lyfe if wee do beholde, wee shall finde ẏ they, euen tyll the age of mannes state, were occupied and busied in the fieldes and in hunting, and alwayes lyued very strictlye and hardelye.

Lacedemoniãs howe they lyued.

The Auncient Romaynes esteemed the care of warrefare and husbandrye as one: and the selfe same persons ẏ in tyme of Peace played the Husbandemen, dyd in tyme of Warre serue for Souldiers: Whereupon *Quintus Cincinnatus*, was called from the Ploughe, to bee Dictator, & after the victorie gotten ouer his enemies, he surrendred his rowme and dignitie, & retourned to his Oxen, & small plotte of Lande which hee had at home. So like wyse *Fabricius* after hee had expulsed *Pirrhus* oute of the Coastes of Italy, and *Marcus Curius* Surnamed *Dentatus* hauinge vanquished the *Sabines*, betoobe themselues agayne to their fieldes. Also *Caius Marius* longe tyme after, was a Capitayne chosen out of the Country, and yet was hee seuen tymes Consull, and wyth manye and greac victories was his fame ennobled, and so hardned was hee in labour and paynes taking, ẏ when he offered his legges (beinge swelled) to the Surgeon to bee cutte of and launced, he did it with no more feare, then he would haue geuen a Carpenter a piece of Timber to bee squared: This laste of all is to be concluded, ẏ the harder and painefuller that the Trades bee which men doe commonlye practise and followe, the stronger and stouter

Romaynes esteemed warfare and husbandry both a lyke.

doe the same make the Souldiers: and the nycer and finer that they bee, the more doe they weaken courage and abate valiauntnes. For it is not to be loked for, ỳ cur doggs which come peaking out of Tauernes and Typling houses, should geue the onset vpon a Lybbard or Lyon, nay, they wyll rather streightway return to ỳ licking of their dishes agayne.

Hunting a good exercise.

The exercise of hunting is very good, whiche differeth much from rusticall and warlike assayres: for *Xenophon* when hee determined to followe the warres of *Cyrus*, dyd first with greate care and diligence learne to ryde, & hunt, affirming that he was an vnprofitable Souldier, which was not in both these exercises greately enured and practised. For the Romains (because their Yongmen should not geeue themselues too much to pleasure, or be marred with idlenesse and ease in corners and bynookes) made a goodly field for exercise, which they called *Campus Martius*, wherein the Games and exercises of Armes were celebrated and kept, not only for the Spectacles and sights of Fencers, and swordplayers, but also for the vse and exercise of Souldiers: and thereat were present certayn ỳ instructed & trained the same souldiers, which were with the cõmon charge and prouision recõpensed withe double shares of grayne and corne: because they should ỳ better and diligentlier (being enflamed with reward) trayn and teache the saune Souldiers.

Trayninge of Souldiers.

It would aske a longe discourse to make rehearsall of all Martiall exercises, & orderly to discribe ỳ rules & methodes thereof, to sette down preceptes how young souldiers should be trayned, howe they shoulde behaue themselues in auoyding and declining weapons commynge towardes them, and how to deale prudentlye and manfullye in stryking agayne; howe they ought to playe the partes of Souldiers throughly in euery poynte: how they shall handle the shielde or Target: how to set and pytche theyr stakes, obserue their array in marchinge, and kepe their

standing

standinges, all which thinges rather seeme to appertayn vnto him that wryteth of warfare, then vnto him whiche entreateth of ciuill societye.

Plato setteth downe in ouer, that no man shoulde haue auctoritye in the warres, before hee were thirtie yeares of age (although there were otherwise in him, approued and tryed manhoode and valiaunce, and that hee were also euen at those yeares ennobled or made famous for som martial exploytes) This age did the *Athenians* think lawfull and fitting for warlike offices, although sometimes they derogate frō this law, especially in *Alcibiades*, who in his adolescencie, was so highly in the peoples fauour, ỹ whersoeuer hee walked abroade, all the Cittizens caste their eyes onely vppon him, and no man so well esteemed amongst them al, as he was. For before hee was of lawful age, hee was made Lieutenaunt generall of the warres against the *Syracusians*, vnto whom notwithstandinge were adioyned two Colleges, farre elder then himselfe, that is to say *Nicias* and *Lamachus*, to thende they might more safelye prouide for the publike weale. Also *Octauius Cæsar* at the age of xviii yeares was elected Emperoure, *Cicero* perswading the same vnto the people of Rome, but afterwardes when he handled some matters against the mynde and lykinge of *Cicero*, he was sory for that whiche before hee had done, and repented his former counsell and aduise which hee had geuen for his aduauncement & election, and thereupon wrate an Epistle, wherein he exclaymeth against himselfe, that he had played no wisemannes parte, but confessed that the common wealth was by hym and through his meanes deceyued.

What age is lawfull for one to be a Generall.

Octauius Cæsar.

Farre more safer is an armie or hoast committed vnto olde beaten Souldiers, then vnto youngmen, whose first aduisemēts and counsells, are more fearce and vnstayed, and who doe lesse foresee and consider the inceretaintye of chaunces, because Fortune neuer at anye tyme deceyued them: but Oldmen with quyet mindes do foresee manye thin-

Olde beaten Souldiers are to bee preferred before youngmen.

nye thinges, and preuent before hand howe to encounter with Fortune: and where nede is of stoute persons, they do the same, not so willingly, as dryuen thereunto by necessitie, & will rather choose to dye in fight, then in flight.

Alexander Rynge of Macedonie beinge twenty & one yeares of age loste his father Philippe by Deathe, and because hee woulde seeme to bee no lesse the Heire and Successor of his kingdome, then of his worthynesse and glorye, when as hee had taken on him the Gouernmente of the armie left him by his father, he dyd not choose vnto him those compaignions, which he had bene brought vp, & conuersant wal, neither youthful yonkers: but old tried & beaten souldiers: many of thē such as were alreadye discharged & dispenced wal frō folowing the warrs any iōger, who aforetime serued his father, & had abidē many a sharpe storme vnder him: in which doing, he semed rather to haue chosen maisters & capitaines of warres thē souldiers: and he cōmitted not the orderinge & disposinge of hys Battls, but vnto thē ẏ were Lx. yeres of age, which surelye was the cause, that he alwayes vanquished the enemie, and obtayned the victory, & with a very small band of mē ouercame sixe hundred thousand of the Persians: & if hee had not bene by death preuented, he surelye woulde haue subdued the whole worlde.

The Tribune or Marshall of the fielde, ought to bee a man most valiaunt and couragious, in prowes and Martiall Cheualrye exactlye trayned: the rulers also of euery particuler Crew and Band, which haue so many men at their commaundemente, ought in their offyce to bee persons most graue, because that in the absence of the Generall, they supplye his rowme. He also that hath the charge and office of pitching the Tentes & encamping, ought of all others to bee most skilfull, & one by long experiēce and practise in warres, throughly tryed and experienced. For he ought diligently to view and surueigh the nature and condition of the place, that hee maye chose the safest & moste

Encamping.

most cōuenient parte for the army to campe in, that there bee no hyll ouer it, whereby his Souldiers might bee easely by the enemie assaulted and displaced, neyther by meanes of a Ryuer surrounded and drowned, or elles by the too much nearenesse of wood growing therabout, to bee consumed and fyred, whiche thinge happened vnto *Crassus* in the ciuile warres, who throughe suche careles ouersight, was with all his armie almoste burned sodenlye by the fyre, that his enemies had secretely enkindled. So did *Camillus* also destroy & spoyle the campe & tentes of the *Volsciās* by fiering the wood ẏ was neere vnto thē.

Choyse of ground for pitching of tents & encampinge

Moreouer let a Generalle foresee that there bee stoare enoughe of wood, of forage & of water: let them also haue an easie egresse abroade into the fieldes round about thē, and a safe returne and egresse backe agayne to the campe. Neither ought ẏ Surueigher or chiefe ouerseer of workmen to lacke long experience, vpon whom chiefly resteth all the charge, to see ẏ nothing be wanting to ẏ hoast ẏ is nedeful, eyther for assault & battry, or for repulsing or defence. This man ought to haue in a readinesse Carpēters, Joigners, Rafterers, & Masōs, for ẏ contriuing & makīg of engines, & woddē towers, battring pieces, crosbowes, Slinges, & other sorts of gunnes beside, and briefly to cōclude, ẏ auncient persons must be appointed rulers ouer ẏ army, & the younger sort must be honored with other dignities, & specially such as haue more glory & prayse when the case falleth out well & with good successe, thē daunger if it should fall out otherwise, or that Fortune shoulde deceiue them. Reward & punishment are to bee demed & taken as two Gods in a common wealth, and in Martiall affaires especially accoūpted most necessarye: for neyther shall it be sufficient for a Captayne to keepe his souldiers at cōmaūdemēnt, and in obedience for feare of punishement: except also the hope of glory & reward do quicken & pricke forward ẏ courage & fortitude of ẏ souldier: & ẏ desire of renoume doth of it self particulerly prescribe such things as neither the leaders nor captaines thēselues, cā

Surueighors of vvorkes.

Revvarde for vvel doinge & punishmēt for euil doing.

by any

by any possible meanes directe or teache: For surely hope is a right greate affect and motion of the mynde, whiche ofttentimes stirreth vp and moueth men to do those thinges which seeme to exceede the strength & ability of man, & which otherwise could not by any reason or meanes be perswaded.

(::)

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